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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Dymylja on Party Work, Meat Supply

AU2708163990 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by Xhemal Dymylja, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member: "The Greater the Tasks, The More Determined the Party's Leadership"]

[Text] We have witnessed how—dictated by the needs of our development—first one field and then another has taken priority at various stages of our people's revolution. Nourishing and supporting each other, they have paved clear future roads for our entire socioeconomic development. The party's work has concentrated its "artillery" on one field or another, which the times and our development has selected as most important, where innovative thinking has been present and Communists and cadres have set particularly outstanding examples.

We are now experiencing and initiating the process of democratization, and realize that its continuation is a vital necessity for the country's progress. In this process, there are no secondary tasks which can be left for tomorrow; we must all meet the demands of the times and speak with the language not only of today, but of tomorrow.

There are greater demands for development in every field. While this is true everywhere, the party leadership must show itself to be working to the utmost on all fronts.

Work is now intensifying in all sectors of Shkoder District. This means that many new, difficult, and complicated tasks have arisen. This means that the party and Communists must be on their feet day and night, leading the work and carrying out their tasks in practice.

Day by day, we witness the sudden speed of events in Europe, feel the increased pressures exerted against our country, and notice how the activity of hostile propaganda against us has revived. It is true that we have no lack of experience of confrontations of this kind, but the current pressure has acquired new dimensions, and covers problems in all areas. The pace of developments, and the complexity and intensity of events, demand a similar, if not faster, pace in the party's work in the district and the base, without waiting for someone else from "above" to instruct us to do this or that. We are decisively abandoning the practice of politically analyzing events in front of great crowds of people, with presidiums and podiums; this takes time, and has meant that a new event or task emerges as soon as you have broached the first. We are going among the masses in simpler ways—well-prepared, but without speeches written by other people. We stress our preparedness, because it has not been uncommon for some cadres not to be able to cope with their audience properly, and to summon slogans and quotations to cover their inability to present an argument.

Working people need to have situations explained; they need explanations of the current processes of democratization, the economy in the life of society, the new economic mechanism, and everything else. Ties between members of the party committee plenum, other cadres, the intelligentsia in general, and the people are becoming closer than before. This has improved the work of the party. Practical enforcement of the decisions of party organs and basic organizations and state and economic bodies has been inspected and improved. Priorities for the development of neighborhoods, villages, workplaces, and the district as a whole have been more correctly defined and clarified. The masses have spoken out openly in this process, and have raised their problems correctly and with political awareness.

This is the place to underline that this practice is a very fruitful form of experience which needs to be pursued and deepened. The people see you as you are; there is no way you can hide from them or elude them. They do not ask for the impossible, but they will not pardon laziness; still less, promises which are not kept. Several problems have recently become highly topical, such as supplies in stores, fuel supplies, the regular delivery of building materials, the prompt granting of land according to the recent decrees, and so forth. There has also been the occasional cadre who has tried to evade his responsibility, saying that "workers do not come to the building site," or "to the bakery," and so forth. The people have given them short shrift, and have told them that it is these cadres themselves, and they alone, who are responsible, and that they are not working properly for working conditions, the new mechanism, and so forth. Communists and party basic organizations have also rightly taken this view, and have endorsed such criticism, called for accountability, and reached firm solutions. In this way, they have increased their trust in the party's organizations and have opposed bureaucratic ideas and practices.

It is clear that the current situation presents us with a great deal of work and major tasks. This situation, of course, is connected with the outside world; however, the work that we do, the decisions we make, and the changes we carry out are not a product of the dizzying changes in Eastern Europe and are not being carried out under the command of foreign circles of whatever kind. Our needs for faster progress dictate them. All these things lie in our own hands, and involve more work and sweat; everything we do proves this. A fact: The cooperativists of Bushat, Koplik, Trush, Dajc, etc. took the initiative in reallocating the livestock of the small herds to personal use on the basis of observations and proposals made a long time ago and which, having been tested by research and experimentation, led to the decision recently made by the party.

The important measures which have been taken to benefit the peasantry have had an immediate influence on fulfilling the vital needs of the countryside, but have also been increasingly reflected in the food supply of townspeople. We do not care less when someone abroad "bemoans" the fate of the people of the town of Shkoder, who only consume one kg of meat per family per month. We do not hide the fact that meat does not hang from the butcher's hooks every day, but Shkoder families have been given the opportunity to obtain 6 kg of meat every month (4 kg from the state sector, and 2 kg from the cooperativist and village markets), not including the 2 kg of fish which the average family consumes. This, however, is still little. There will be much greater opportunities in the near future.

It has now become the practice for all the party's forces to rise to their feet after each decision. As soon as the decision was made to increase the area of land for personal plots, the entire party in the district was organized the very next day to carry out this decision as soon as possible—just as planning and financial officials organized themselves at once—informing 6,000 workers within two or three days not only that they would profit from the decision to determine wages according to their categories of work, but by how much. Measures are being taken to reorganize the service and handicrafts sector and expand with the help of private outlets. The growing demands of the people necessitated this reorganization. Prior to this, studies and proposals had been made in this field in Shkoder. Working people are now feeling the benefits of this stimulation of the market, whether that of the state sector, the markets of the agricultural cooperatives and villages, or the private stores. Party organizations in the district have taken special care to quickly take the lead in work to encourage the exploitation of all exisitng reserves in order to strengthen the market. They started with the retail enterprises themselves, 77 of which began operating on a self-financing basis on 1 August. Work is continuing, but might nevertheless be accelerated. There is no time to wait. At the same time, 205 persons have been issued with licenses to exercise their professions privately. They have been helped with grants of building lots and to some extent with construction materials. Meanwhile, 70 of them have expressed the desire to build their own private outlets. This work has created ways to better meet the people's needs for vegetables, potatoes, fruit, meat, eggs, and dairy products, so that these products will always be available on the market. These, therefore, represent a range of solutions, many of which were put forward and studied by working people themselves, and some of which have were introduced some years ago.

Despite these achievements, our district possesses greater reserves and opportunities for exploiting many economic resources. Basic party organizations and bureaus should insist that working people, cadres, and specialists should be courageous in seeking to do more to increase production and incomes. A primary task of the party's work today is to encourage and support major solutions and to tackle difficult tasks. Basic organizations and the masses of Communists are making new efforts to increase everybody's role in these important developments.

Special Measures To Tackle Drought Problems

AU2408193490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Following the exceptional drought this year, the energy situation in our country is becoming increasingly difficult. This drought spells a new set of negative consequences for the economy every day, and has involved the consumption of energy in order to maintain the necessary labor capacity. It seems that this expenditure will continue to increase, because the weather forecasts for this year predict drought until October and even until 15 November. In this situation, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers held a special meeting today in order to once again examine the problems of the exceptional drought and its consequences, and decided on a series of new measures for the period between 24 August and the end of September.

As a result of the difficulties created in electrical energy, our country will make a foreign currency cash purchase of several tens of thousands of kilowatt hours of electricity, over and above the amount aleady imported. The sum for paying for this quantity of electricity is over $2 million. Besides this, 11,000 tonnes of fuel oil will be bought on the foreign market, where the effects of the crisis which has erupted in the Persian Gulf are being increasingly felt in the energy and financial fields. As a result, the price of fuel oil has risen by 30 percent over just a few days, so that the purchase of 11,000 tonnes by our country will cost about $1,700,000. [Passage indistinct] the closure of the ferrochrome furnaces still working at Burrel and Elbasan. However, not even this is without economic and financial consequences. The closure of these two furnaces until the end of September alone will immediately wipe out the foreign currency earnings which would have come from the export of 3,000 tonnes of ferrochrome. This amounts to a loss of $1,800,000 to the state budget.

However, the economy is also struck by another blow. The closure of the two furnaces involves the suspension of about 1,100 workers who, according to the relevant decision of the Council of Ministers, will receive 80 percent of their wages. This money will be paid out of the state budget in addition to what has already been paid out for the wages of workers whose work has been suspended because of the electricity shortage.

All this involves a great deal of expense for our economy. The measures taken by the Presidium of the Council of Ministers today are a further effort to use the state's funds to mitigate the negative consequences of the exceptional energy situation. However, that is not all. There is still an extensive field of activity and initiative in various sectors of the economy, in which hundreds of thousands of workers and cooperativists, young people, soldiers, intellectuals, and pensioners have in their hands the keys to machines, lights, and water faucets, as well hundreds and hundreds of opportunities to exercise economy, especially in the cases of major electricity consumers. Setting people's activism and initiative in motion will first of all have a psychological influence on this exceptional energy situation, which, in the times in which we are living, involves calling on the forces of patriotism and of love for the homeland and the people. This activism and initiative will find expression when an engineer takes steps to prevent waste in the grid and adapts the consumption of an electric motor to match the demands made of it, and when a manager organizes work to eliminate all idle running of machinery and enforces technical discipline, so that nothing goes to waste.

The introduction of the new economic mechanism also creates new opportunities to encourage the saving of electricity. At every stage of production, accurate accounting can determine realistic quotas of energy use, with bonus pay for those who perform their tasks by using smaller quantities of electricity. This can and must be done without delay.

This patriotic activism and initiative will also be expressed in the way in which every citizen and cooperativist is able to consider this exceptional situation in his workplace, in society, and in his family, treating it as a time to take special measures and to cope with the concern it arouses. This means knowing how to give realistic answers to those who think it is easy to reduce the retirement age or to increase wages to the limits of our economy. Economic phenomena are linked in a long chain. Everybody's contribution at each link in this chain makes him stronger and more capable of sustaining other links.

'Illusions' of 'Moaners' Attacked

AU2408141590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Aug 90 p 3

[Avdul Dule article: "'Born' Moaners"]

[Excerpts] A compatriot in a European country goes to our embassy and says:

"Be careful! Do not write in the press about any shortcomings, because they are on the alert to exaggerate them."

"But there are shortcomings," they say.

"Indeed there are, but I can only see good in Albania."

Only good! No doubt, he does not see a material paradise, but his heart is full of longing, love, and loyalty to his motherland.

A son never insults his mother—whoever she may be—even if her table is simply laid, and the cottage passed down through the generations is small. Parents do what they can, but the coming generations will inevitably dismantle the roof of the single-floor dwelling and add new floors, making more space. Meanwhile, one comes across people who do not love their home and hearth, and are dissatisfied with everything, as if they, themselves, could solve everything. There are people who, from dawn to dusk, can only see faults in their country: "Look at the broken sidewalks, the broken manhole covers, the unplastered apartment blocks, shortages of this and that in the shops.... What a country." (They remind you of the sketch, "We don't even have rivers. They have rivers abroad....") [passage omitted]

A few days ago we met and talked with four citizens at Rinas Airport—an aged father with his son and a young couple, who had traveled abroad with a normal passport on a visit to their relatives. They traveled by plane, but when they arrived at their destination, they were stopped at the airport and told:

"If you want political asylum, pass through!"

They did not want political asylum, because they had their home here in Tirana, and had left their "paradise"—however modest—here. They did not want political asylum, because they were politically, ideologically, and economically content with their government. They wanted to travel as friends visiting friends, as guests. Their waiting relatives came to look for them, but no: "Albanians cause us problems. We do not let them in." The truth was that they did not accept those who are honest and a credit to their country. They only accepted those who caused problems for their country, their own home. These four upright citizens we met at Rinas Airport were disgusted and upset, not at having had to spend several days confined to the airport and then being sent home, but because they had been asked to give up a part of their hearts, their blood—almost their lives.

In contrast with such moving and touching cases, there are also those with no feelings, who have almost no self-esteem, and who sing hosannas to the dollar and to wealth. Who does not aim at and desire prosperity? Prosperity is the aim of all the measures which have been taken—including the recent laws approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. However, we must aim at prosperity on honest, normal paths, as masters of our own house, making our own land and underground resources produce prosperity, and not by putting the country's freedom and independence on the market. We must take more responsibility on our own shoulders, blazing new trails with new skills. These are undoubtedly the aims of all the projects and research schemes in agriculture, oil, transportation, and tourism. There are many new projects, and some of them are producing their first results. We are renewing our technology in a way which will undoubtedly bring higher production and lower costs; yet, the Cassandras and moaners also add a tail to them: "Unemployment and inflation will rocket. This and that will happen."

It is not enough to merely take note of everything that we have said. Confrontations and "clashes" on the basis of dialogue, argument, and real evidence can no longer be left in the hands of a few "salaried" lecturers. One cannot forget the moaners who exploit every failure in order to exaggerate it and turn the truth upside down. Life must be taken as it is. We must be aware of people's thinking and psychology. Young people and adolescents of today have become both the most sensitive and the most demanding members of society. Illusions can easily take root and flourish when people are highly sensitive and demanding, but also lack realism, balanced judgment, and accurate information both about this country and abroad. We, therefore, need a debate. What can we tell them however? It is true that we are not swimming in wealth, but we must tell them that what the developed world possesses and has acquired in one way or another is not theirs for the asking. We still do not possess the most advanced technology, and a great deal remains to be done in transportation, services, roads and highways, hotels, etc. We are not waiting for these things to fall from the heavens; we will achieve these things ourselves, and let us not forget that it cannot be done overnight. We started from swamps and candle-lit hovels, almost from zero. [passage omitted]

Talks on Relations With United States Reported

AU2608154790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] In reply to an ATA correspondent's question on the progress of talks on establishing diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the United States, a Foreign Ministry spokesman has replied that two meetings about this issue have already taken place between Albanian and U.S. officials. The most recent set of talks took place in Washington on 23 August, where our delegation was headed by Bashkim Pitarka, Albanian ambassador to the United Nations, and the U.S. delegation by Curtis Kamman, deputy assistant secretary of state.

Views were exchanged at this meeting on the procedure and necessary documents for establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries within a short period of time. Talks were also conducted on expanding and consolidating relations in various fields on the basis of mutual respect and understanding. The steps taken recently in establishing exchanges and contacts between officials of our two countries were also assessed positively, and a mutual desire to continue to expand these contacts in the future was expressed.

The two sides decided to meet again to draw up the necessary documents.

PRC's Tian Zengpei Departs 24 Aug

AU2408193090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei, who paid an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left our country today.

During his stay in our country, PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei paid a visit to the Museum of National History in Tirana and to Durres District.

He was seen off at Rinas Airport by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and other foreign ministry officials. Gu Maoxuan, PRC ambassador to Tirana, was also present.

Ministry Threatens To 'Retaliate' for Iraqi Moves

AU2708181890 Sofia BTA in English 1723 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Bulgaria Will Retaliate If Iraq Won't Review Move"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Bulgaria will retaliate if Iraq will not guarantee the legitimate right of the Bulgarian citizens on Iraqi territory to repatriate, says an announcement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, circulated in the late afternoon today.

After part of the Bulgarian citizens returned from Iraq, on August 25 the Iraqi Government banned the further evacuation of Bulgarians. These discriminatory measures yesterday prevented the return of 191 women, children and sick people.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs urged the Iraqi ambassador in Sofia for a review of that decision, qualified as a gross violation of the UN Charter, of international standards and the principles of humanism. The Bulgarian ambassador to Iraq has made similar representations to the Iraqi Foreign Ministry.

Bulgaria called on the United Nations and on the world community for support in its efforts to help the repatriation of Bulgarian citizens from Iraq.

Investigation Begins Into BSP Headquarters Fire

Militia Remains on Alert

AU2708122390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Statement by Colonel Khristo Velichkov, director of the Directorate of the People's Militia; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Although the circumstances have not been fully established in connection with the vandalous attack on and subsequent torching of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] buidling in Sofia, the actions of the perpetrators unequivocally arouse suspicions that the act was in fact premeditated. The recklessness shown by the extremists and their lack of any concern for the consequences make it necessary to take all required measures to prevent any other similar attempt to destabilize the situation in the country.

In this connection, we have issued orders to all regional militia directorates to put the militia forces in a state of full readiness, in the event of any manifestation of extremism and disrespect for the laws of the country, to utilize the full arsenal of available means and methods, and, in the event of peaceful methods being exhausted, to apply physical force and auxiliary means, including nightsticks, horses, dogs, water cannons, and, in extreme cases, tear gas.

We cannot give a categorical assessment on whether [words indistinct], but we cannot fail to declare that the unfounded attacks on the part of certain political leaders and mass media helped to bring about this sad result.

The militia organs have so far not performed the role of a repressive apparatus and did not use excessive force against the violence. I certainly believe that the shaky civic peace in our country also rested on this to a certain extent. However, this tragedy serves yet again to demonstrate to the political parties that democracy cannot exist without legality, and that, in order to have legality, everyone who respects the integrity of the state must exert the necessary efforts to support a strong police as a guarantor of democracy and law and order.

Situation in Central Sofia 'Calm'

AU2708115190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Aglaya Shamlieva report]

[Text] The reporter from the "Khorizont" program has been in a car in the center of Sofia since this morning. We contacted our reporter Aglaya Shamlieva half an hour ago, and learned that the car had stopped in front of the National Assembly.

[Begin Shamlieva recording] The militia cordon which was guarding the central square has not moved. At the moment investigations are continuing in the square; dozens of journalists are bombarding the militia with questions, but the militiamen are remaining absolutely silent.

A short time ago Dimitur Yonchev, spokesman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, made a statement to me. I will not repeat what he said, but I have an arrangement to contact him again at 1400 [1100 GMT]. I will also be trying to contact the leaders of the other political forces.

My impressions of central Sofia are as follows. In my view, the situation is calm, despite the fact that the faces of many citizens show tension. Groups of people are standing around asking questions and discussing the events. The most frequently asked question was: What was the militia doing last night? If the militia had shown strength, there was a chance of stopping this act of vandalism. Who remained inactive, and why? These questions remain unanswered at the moment.

We have been told by the BSP Supreme Council that the council is calling a rally in the square in front of the National Arts Gallery at 1800 [1500 GMT]. This is the latest information we have. I will now go into the National Assembly building, and perhaps will receive more information there, where they are probably discussing the formation of the parliamentary commission suggested by President Zhelev. [end recording]

BSP Leader Lilov Declaration

AU2708114090 Sofia BTA in English 1049 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party sees in last night's outrages a threat to civil peace and a danger of the emergence of rightist extremism and fascism.

In the declaration of the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) read by its leader, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, on the Bulgarian Radio this morning an appeal is made to declare this day a day of protest against such acts that jeopardize the country with civil war.

Later on, speaking on radio, the spokesman of the BSP, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, qualified the act of setting the building of the BSP Supreme Council afire as vandalism and neo-fascism. Pointing out that tempers have not cooled down, he called upon the people to be on the alert as to prevent any further outrages this evening.

It has been announced that the holding of a rally in protest of similar actions is being discussed and the rumors that the BSP Supreme Council has a sitting in connection of the incidents have been disproved.

Mr. Dimitur Yonchev made it clear that a message would be sent to the members and the supporters of the BSP containing an evaluation of the situation.

Beron, Lilov, Vulkov Meet With Zhelev

AU2708154890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] A meeting is taking place between Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, and President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. Aleksandur Lilov and Viktor Vulkov are also taking part in the meeting.

Further on Zhelev Meeting

AU2708154990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] As we already reported, today Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the republic, invited the leaders of the basic political forces in Bulgaria and the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly to the Presidency to hold talks. They supported the president's declaration which condemned the act of setting fire to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and presented their assessment of the situation in the country.

The participants in the meeting discussed the violence and confirmed their willingness to uproot this social evil.

Lilov: 'Black Day for Democracy'

AU2708172290 Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Lilov: 'Bulgarian Democracy in Danger'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—"A black day for democracy in Bulgaria," said Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, speaking at an emergency press conference called in connection with the looting and torching of the BSP Supreme Council Headquarters last night.

The BSP believes that political life in this country is taking a new turn, exceedingly dangerous for the progress of democracy. "Forces have emerged which can only be described as reactionary. We are witnessing a typically neofascist event," Mr. Lilov said. In his view this was not an accident but a carefully planned and obviously long premeditated event.

At the same time he emphasized that the BSP will remain committed to the implementation of its policy of a peaceful transition to democracy. Along with that it will defend itself. It will get ready to face any complication of events in Bulgaria within the law and strictly through the law.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said that the declaration of the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev in connection with that event was fine but he would like to see specific action on the part of the president for the safeguard of civil peace.

The news conference was held in the lobby of the BSP Supreme Council, whose walls are charred and whose floor is strewn with shattered lusters from the crystal chandelier.

Lukanov Interrupts Trip, Returns

AU2708172490 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Due to the events last night when the BSP Headquarters in central Sofia was set ablaze, the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov cut short a visit to Czechoslovakia and returned to Bulgaria today.

He was in Prague for a seminar on East Europe problems. Before that Mr. Lukanov had made a short working visit to Vienna where he met with Dr. Franz Vranitzky, the federal chancellor of Austria.

At Sofia Airport the prime minister declined to comment on last night's events. He went straight to the rally called by the socialists this evening.

Mr. Lukanov's government, which was assigned caretaker functions on Thursday [23 August], is blamed for failing to act quickly and prevent the events last night. Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the BSP leader, joined these accusations today.

Minsters Council Condemns 'Vandalistic Act'

AU2708192290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Declaration of the Council of Ministers" issued in Sofia on 27 August]

[Text] The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria categorically condemns the vandalistic act committed on the evening of 26 August and the early hours of 27 August 1990—setting fire and ravaging the Headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. This brutal crime, perpetrated by extremists and the politically irresponsible groups that back them, was directly aimed against the interests of the Bulgarian people, our country's authority, and Bulgaria's future. Only enemies of democracy could use violence as a means of achieving their selfish goals.

This crime threatens civic peace and aims at revealing the road to violence and anarchy. Both the instigators and perpetrators of this pogrom carry full responsibility for the act.

The assault against law and order happens during a responsible period, when we are beginning to construct parliamentary democracy and when the Great National Assembly, elected according to the will of all Bulgarian people, is beginning to resolve complex issues related to overcoming the political, economic, and social crisis of our society. It takes place at a period when the country has to resolve pressing problems related to feeding the population and creating conditions to cope with a difficult winter.

The Council of Ministers is adopting the necessary measures to eliminate political adventurism, ensure normal functioning of the state institutions, and guarantee the free activity of the political parties and public organizations.

The government instructed the local organs of state power and the services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to cooperate with the political forces in doing everything possible to protect public order, law, and the tranquility in the country. The full strictness and exigence of the law will be applied against the instigators and violators of public order. The criminals will be prosecuted and punished for their dangerous actions.

We fully support the appeal to the nation by the president of the Republic. We express our solidarity with his call for good political sense, prudence, and a sense for responsibility to our people, children, and their future. We fully support his words that the basic political forces and their leaders must demonstrate that they really care for the people and that they are sincere champions of democracy.

For its part, the government appeals to the political forces and our public to unite their efforts to defend law and public order. It appeals to the Grand National Assembly, all Bulgarian people, and all honest and conscious citizens to defend the peaceful transition toward a democratic society and not allow a diversion from the great goals—freedom, democracy, social justice and constructing a parliamentary state in which there is no place for violence and attacks against individuals and the society.

SDS Appeals for 'Public Peace'

AU2708115090 Sofia BTA in English 1051 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—The Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has addressed an appeal to all true democrats, to all people who consistently defend the ideas of freedom.

Do not let yourselves be provoked, keep the public peace, calm down the impatient; Bulgaria needs peace to get out of the bog she was pushed into by the totalitarian regime; let us show in these dramatic hours that we are sensible and civilized people who are masters of events and will not be swept away by them, it is said in the document. It is underlined that the act of vandalism committed on the night of August 26 to August 27 in the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party is a provocation against the peaceful transition to democracy.

The Union of Democratic Forces condemns the violence and insists on a detailed and objective investigation of the dramatic events, including by setting up a special parliamentary commission.

Demands Investigation, 'Moratorium'

AU2708143990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces has issued the following declaration:

Bulgarian citizens:
Our young democracy is in danger. The vandalistic act of setting fire to the Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters and the two neighboring buildings used by the BSP Supreme Council on the night of 26-27 August was an attack not only against the BSP but against all democratic forces, including the SDS, and the country's parliamentary system.

The SDS Coordination Council categorically condemns this act, which is unprecedented in our modern history, and it will do everything possible to fully clarify the truth.

There are many questions that are raised by this dramatic night. We accept what happened as a drastic attempt to violate the country's civic peace, undermine the democratic process, and return society to the totalitarian system and dictatorship. There is no doubt that the most reactionary political circles are interested in the destabilization of the country's sociopolitical situation.

Those circles see a possibility of revenge in the annihilation of our country's frail democracy.

The SDS declares that it is necessary that the Bulgarian public learn as soon as possible who the instigators and the specific perpetrators are. The facts that are known so far indicates a puzzling lack of activity on the part of the special forces of law and order and sluggishness in adopting decisions on the part of the government and the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Indecisiveness and lack of control could also be observed in the actions of the fire brigade.

The SDS Coordination Council already has hundreds of reports from witnesses and documents that make it possible to recreate a comprehensive picture of this act of vandalism. All these materials will be handed over to the investigation organs. The SDS Coordination Council proposes to create a parliamentary commission to clarify the incident and declares its intention to conduct an independent investigation.

We appeal to all Bulgarian citizens to maintain calm and reject the appeals to participate in rallies, demonstrations, protests, and other actions, which currently can only increase tension in the country.

We appeal to the mass media to refrain from disseminating texts and pictures that could breed hatred and distrust. We propose to all political forces in the country that they announce a 10-day moratorium on all mass political events and thus contribute to the peaceful transition to democracy.

SDS Distancing Itself From Events

AU2708173490 Sofia BTA in English 1639 GMT 27 Aug 90

["SDS Condemns Last Night's Excesses"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) categorically distanced itself from last night's excesses in Sofia. Leaders of the union told a news conference here today that the opposition has never and in no way called for such actions.

Mr. Petur Beron, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, believes that the BSP Supreme Council Headquarters was set on fire by irresponsible elements seeking to undermine democracy.

The law-enforcement authorities and the firefighters were blamed for inaction, and Mr. Stoyan Ganev, spokesman for the SDS Coordinating Council, said that now there is anarchy in the country and that there are gross breaches of the peace, the responsibility for which rests with the government.

An opinion was expressed that last night's arsons were a long-planned provocation and that further outrages can be expected. Some people believe the next target will be the BSP daily "DUMA".

The SDS leadership agreed with the eviction from the square of the remaining residents of the town of truth early this morning. Mr. Petur Beron said that those were riff-raff who should have long gone home.

The SDS distanced itself from the Civil Disobedience Movement, whose representatives threatened to set themselves on fire last night.

Lilov Accuses Opposition 'Hawks'

AU2708185090 Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Socialists Blame Opposition For Fire"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party today blamed the "hawks" in the opposition for last night's arson of the Socialist Party Headquarters. Addressing a large rally close to the damaged building, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the BSP leader, asked "which political forces are responsible," and the multitude chanted in reply "SDS"—the opposition Union of Democratic Forces; he himself blamed "the most reactionary forces, the hawks in the opposition who want to plunge Bulgaria into a civil war."

The speakers at the rally described the arsonists as fascists and the audience, facing a group of SDS supporters, made it clear that they identify the opposition with those who torched the headquarters.

Further on Mr. Lilov demanded that the opposition prove its commitment to the peaceful process. The SDS leadership has already declared that it condemns barbarianism and violence. Socialist Party supporters chanted for the resignation of President Zhelyu Zhelev. They cheered as the former head of state, Mr. Petur Mladenov, who is again in the BSP leadership, appeared at the rally and made a speech. The appearance of the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, who arrived at the rally shortly after his return from a trip abroad, was met with the same approval.

In his speech Mr. Lilov called on the BSP members and supporters to "close up their ranks" "because there is no one else to defend us except ourselves." The leader of the party which has majority in parliament stressed that "the party is in a position to defend itself and to defend democracy in Bulgaria." In his view, last night's riots suggested the manifestation of political forces seeking to settle their accounts with the socialists by physical force.

"No more retreats", the Socialists urged before their leaders and MPs. They cheered the appeals for the BSP leaders to be calm but organized and courageous.

Official Investigation Begins

AU2708195590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Announcement" from the Main Investigation Administration; place and date not given]

[Text] Today, on the basis of Article 187, paragraph one; Article 192, paragraph two; and Article 200 of the Penalty Procedure Code, a preliminary investigation was initiated. It is related to the use of violence against the official state organs on 26 August. The crowd crudely disrupted the public order and set fire to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council in Sofia, causing substantial damage to the property. According to Article 269, paragraph three; Article 325; Article 330, paragraph two ; and Article 216 of the Penalty Code, this constitutes a crime.

The Chief Prosecutor's Office has been informed about the investigation.

Questioning of eye witnesses, confronting people with the evidence, searches, and seizure have already begun, and appropriate experts have been appointed.

At present, more than 50 persons have been brought to the investigation authorities in Sofia, and 39 of them were arrested. The investigation continues.

Citizens who can provide information related to the aforementioned crimes, are invited to get in touch with the Main Investigation Administration or with the closest unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Call for Witnesses Issued

AU2708115790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Appeal by Aleksandur Aleksandrov, chief of the Secretariat of the Main Investigation Department, in connection with the fire at Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters in Sofia on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] We are unable to give any new information because of the specific nature of the investigation. I would like to use this opportunity again to appeal to all citizens who were at the scene of the incident [burning of the Party Building in Sofia] and who have information on what occurred, to report this information to the nearest local station of the Interior Ministry or to the Main Investigation Department on the telephone number 82-34-12.

We are setting up a group of investigators which, in cooperation with the organs of the Prosecutor's Office, will work to identify and establish the damage and losses caused, the participants, and their reasons and motives. After the investigation has been completed, we will be in a position, in accordance with the current legislation, to inform the public on everything which has become known in the course of the investigation.

'Thousands' Rally in Support of BSP

AU2808075990 Paris AFP in English 0111 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Sofia, 28 Aug (AFP)—Rival demonstrations for and against the ruling Socialist (formerly Communist) Party brought thousands of people onto Sofia's central September 9 Square late Monday [27 August], but there were no major incidents.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) had called its supporters out to "protest against political extremism" after its headquarters were ransacked and set ablaze by hundreds of anti-communist demonstrators the previous night.

While several thousand BSP sympathisers were grouping on the square, hundreds of their opponents gathered on the other side shouting "Down with communism" and "BSP killers."

The Socialist supporters, carrying red flags, shouted back "No to extremism", "No to neo-fascism" and called for the anti-communist protestors to be brought to court.

Addressing the BSP demonstrators, party chairman Alexander Lilov said those responsible for the blaze Sunday [26 August] night were "the most reactionary forces, the hawks in the opposition who want to plunge Bulgaria into civil war."

The latest demonstrations took place in a political vacuum as the Socialists, who won June elections, have since been unable to form a new government. They would like a coalition, but the opposition has come out against this. [passage omitted]

Assembly Postpones Plenary Session

AU2808100190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Today's plenary session of the Grand National Assembly will continue this afternoon at 1500 [1200 GMT]. The morning session lasted only 40 seconds.

[Begin Assembly President Nikolay Todorov recording] Esteemed people's deputies, the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly, by agreement with the leaders of the parliamentary factions, has reached the conclusion that the session should be postponed until this afternoon. In view of this, I suspend this sitting. [end recording]

As the reason for this, Nikolay Todorov cited the decision of the parliamentary groups of the political forces. The groups were still continuing discussions on the view which they are to adopt today on item one of the draft agenda, the setting fire to the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

The commissions which are to issue reports concerning the draft law on amendments and additions to the Pensions Law, and the draft law on amendments and additions to the Law on the People's Councils are still not completely ready. The results of the sessions of the various commissions will become clear at the plenary sitting of parliament which will start at 1500 and will be transmitted live on the Khorizont Program of Bulgarian Radio.

Parties Voice Condemnation of Arsonists

AU2808065590 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—A number of political parties and public organisations today issued declarations in connection with last night's rioting around the Socialist Party's headquarters. They voice concern over Bulgaria's fragile democracy.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) believes that this breach of the peace may open the door to unrest, chaos and a civil war.

The Podkrepa Labour Confederation accuses the Bulgarian Socialist Party's Supreme Council of behaving irresponsibly with respect to its declarations and promises. The Podkrepa declaration suspects that this is a carefully prepared provocation intended to crack down on the democratic forces. It cites as an example the busting of the Towns of Truth.

The residents of the Town of Truth in Sofia, which was situated right in front of the BSP headquarters, declare that they did everything to stop the "reckless wave of anger surging in the multitude in front of the building. They say that not even the security forces could contain the mob. An address circulated by the Town of Truth says that acting on orders by an unidentified authority, the security forces razed the tent town to the ground early this morning. Some of the residents suffered bodily harm.

Many declarations blame the law-enforcement authorities for failing to prevent the raid and the arson of the BSP headquarters.

The Liberal Party insists on the resignation of the president "who had to take emergency measures right at the beginning of the vandal actions."

The Green Party, affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces, categorically declares itself against the expression of feelings and passions alien to sound political reason.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions sees what happened in the night of August 26 to 27 as a huge step back in the democratic reform process.

BZNS Denounces 'Act of Vandalism'

AU2708143590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] BTA has disseminated a declaration of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], which denounces the act of vandalism by a group of enthused citizens, who set fire to the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in Sofia.

Without analyzing the reasons and motives which contributed to this incident, we think that such a violation of public order could compromise the frail democracy in our country, and open the road to disorder, chaos, and civil war, the declaration of the BZNS Permanent Board reads. Our appeal to the allied Agrarians and all citizens, regardless of their party affiliation, as well as to the country's political forces and public movements, is to make maximum efforts to act against all manifestations which create an atmosphere of violence and threaten civic peace in the country, the document reads.

Parties, Groups Issue Declarations

AU2708142290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with yesterdays incident in Sofia, Bulgarian Radio continues to receive declarations, statements, and appeals from all over the country. You understand that it is practically impossible to acquaint you with them all. We have received such documents from the Fatherland Labor Party, the Democratic Party, the leadership of the Christian-Democratic Party, the Union of Architects in Bulgaria, the Union of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, the Union of the Fatherland War Veterans, the Coordination Council of the Socialist Teachers, Scientists, and Actors, the higher education establishments, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Medical Academy, the Bulgarian Liberal Party in Pernik, the Fatherland Union, the collective of Sofia Electronic Institute, the Union of Actors, and so forth. They all sharply denounce the act of vandalism of the extremist elements in Sofia, and express a sharp protest against all those who instigated those acts of vandalism in the country, and especially in Sofia. They demand the prosecution of the persons guilty of those acts.

Police Chief Suspects Conspiracy

AU2708152390 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Colonel Khristo Velichkov, director of the National Police Force, said in a statement on Radio Sofia that he believes the actions of the raiders of the BSP Supreme Council headquarters "arouse reasonable suspicion of conspiracy."

The police have been alerted and have been ordered to use the whole range of ways and means to restrain extremism and law-breaking, and when peaceful means prove ineffective, to resort to physical force and truncheons, crowd-control by mounted police, dogs, water cannon and, in an emergency, tear gas, Colonel Velichkov said.

The National Police Force director denied that "police just looked on as the accident happened." He described as groundless the accusations of inaction, leveled at the police by some political leaders and mass media.

Interior Ministry Says Police Unprepared

AU2708185890 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Several thousand people raided the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in central Sofia last night. Major General Purvan Rusinov, deputy director of the Sofia Directorate of Internal Affairs, said that the raiders stormed the BSP headquarters with stones, iron rods and Molotov cocktails.

According to General Rusinov, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, the leader of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, took the initiative for the assault. The General said that the police failed to prevent the assault because it was unprepared for such a turn of events. He said that the policemen did not use firearms or tear gas.

Seventeen casualties have been hospitalized. One policeman and one firefighter were injured, and the remaining fifteen were members of the public with various degrees of burns and smoke poisoning.

Forty-six persons have been detained, and 39 of them are under investigation on charges of resisting the law-enforcement authorities, hooliganism and arson, said Lieutenant Colonel Yonko Rashkov of the Criminal Investigation Department. Effects found on most of the detained have been taken out of the BSP headquarters. All of them have previous convictions. Most of them were detained in the BSP headquarters which they raided, smashing windows and breaking doors, for looting and torching.

Some 180 firefighters and all fire engines in Sofia were called in to put out the fire, said Colonel Georgi Gurmev, deputy chief of the fire service. He said that the crowd obstructed the firefighter operation by body-blocking the fire engines and cutting the hose. The colonel said that flares were used in the arson of the BSP Headquarters.

Answering a question of Mr. Emil Koshlukov of the Union of Democratic Forces, General Rusinov ruled out the possibility that the incident was a frame up.

'Civic Disobedience' Issues Declaration

AU2708200490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The Civic Disobedience Initiative has issued a declaration. It points out that none of its members have taken part in setting fire to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The Civic Disobedience Initiative has issued no calls to come to the square. A decision was taken on the self-immolation [threats by two members of the Civic Disobedience Initiative to set themselves on fire], but it was not carried out so as not to provoke the people in the square and push them toward uncontrollable actions.

Unidentified people with loudspeakers called the people to assault the BSP headquarters if the red star is not removed from its top, the declaration of the Civic Disobedience Initiative reads. Suddenly the crowd attacked the building and set fire to it. During the actions of the extremists, the members of the Civic Disobedience Initiative formed a live chain in order to protect the fire brigade members and the Militia employees. No member of the Civic Disobedience Initiative entered the BSP headquarters or took part in the act of arson.

We are not extremists, and our manner of struggle consists of peaceful protests. The Civic Disobedience Initiative disapproves of the actions of the people who set fire to the BSP Headquarters. The Civic Disobedience Initiative protests against violence and extremists and will struggle through peaceful means for the victory of democracy in Bulgaria.

Party Leaders Accuse One Another

AU2808065790 Sofia BTA in English 2130 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Recriminations Traded on BSP Headquarters Fire"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—All three leaders of the major political forces: Mr. Aleksandur Lilov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Petur Beron of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and Mr. Viktor Vulkov of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), demanded a swift clarification of the events last night when the BSP headquarters was set on fire and a prosecution for the arsonists and the instigators, no matter to what circles they belong.

In a televised interview broadcast live this evening Mr. Lilov and Mr. Beron traded implicit recriminations on who stands behind the arsonists.

The Socialists' leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov described last night's vandals as "dark reactionary forces and neo-fascists." In his view, if that happened before November 10, 1989, when Todor Zhivkov was ousted, the security forces would not have tolerated what happened last night.

Mr. Petur Beron declared that the fifteen-year-olds, the instigators and the looters are by no means backed by the SDS. "Even if some member of the Coordinating Council was involved, he was not an exponent of the organisation's position and there is no room for him in its leadership," Mr. Beron said, obviously referring to the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Federation Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, alleged by the police to have commanded the storm of the BSP headquarters.

Mr. Petur Beron believes that certain forces, which he did not name, have a vested interest, in these days of lawlessness, to push Bulgaria to the "strong arm," but this is not the SDS, he said. "Democracy does not burn with a blue flame," the opposition leader emphasized.

Mr. Beron believes that the night of the fire was not accidental: The idea was to divert the attention of parliament from important matters on its agenda.

Summary of Sofia Press Coverage

AU2808084690 Sofia BTA in English 0701 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—The events in the night of August 26 to 27, when the BSP headquarters in Sofia was set on fire, are covered in reports, analyses and comments in all Bulgarian dailies. The papers reproduce the address to the nation by the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, the government declaration, and the addresses of parties, organizations and movements which condemn the vandalism. Many newspapers chronicle the events in the night of the fire. Some of them describe what happened as fascism and neofascism. "DEMOKRATSIYA" draws an analogy with 1933 and the Reichstag fire. There are conjectures that the fire in Sofia was a communist provocation or that they did nothing to prevent it and now use it as a pretext to lash out against the opposition. "DEMOKRATSIYA" accuses the BSP of reaffirming the "enemy image" by its propaganda and thus works up the people who voted for it in the June elections.

Interviewed for "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK," Vice President General Atanas Semerdzhiev, who was in front of the BSP headquarters on the night of the fire, says that the fire is part of a farther reaching plan but does not identify it. The vice president asserts that the fire could have been prevented if there were not so many onlookers, as those who stormed the building were only few. General Semerdzhiev describes the reaction of President Dr. Zhelev as "vigorous and absolutely adequate."

All papers criticize the inaction of the police. "MLADEZH" goes so far as to demand the resignations of the police chiefs, the president, the vice president and the management of the television.

The Socialists' daily "DUMA" runs a centrefold of photos from the incinerated building and tells its readers about a fund-raising campaign to repair the damages. "DUMA" provides detailed coverage of yesterday's rally of the BSP and reproduces in full the speech by the Socialist Party leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov.

Mr. Stefan Prodev, editor-in-chief of "DUMA," calls the opposition's distancing from the fire "hypocrisy and cynicism." He claims that the blue colour was obvious on the night of August 26. Mr. Prodev draws analogies with 1921 when the Fascists set on fire the Communists Club in Sofia.

According to an editorial note in "DUMA," what is underway in Bulgaria now is a criminal tactics to destroy the BSP. The paper alleges that Socialists and BSP supporters earmarked for repressions and extermination are being put on lists. "DUMA" calls on Socialists to take to the streets and "voice their civilized protest against the conspiracy of the fascist restorers."

In its commentary "TRUD" writes that what Bulgaria needs now is a fast formation of a government.

Ms. Mariana Khristova M.P. of the BSP has declared an indefinite hunger strike as from today, "DUMA" reports. She protests against the "civil tensions, artificially whipped up in Sofia and around the country by certain political forces so that they could use the pressure of the street for their ends in parliament."

"MLADEZH" reports the establishment of a Union for the Salvation of Democracy. Its founders urge for a severe punishment of the "fascist arsonists and the organisers of unrest." The time of salvation has already come, the members of the new union believe.

Police, Prosecutors Discuss Investigation

AU2808103290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Representatives of the Sofia City Directorate of the People's Militia, the National Fire Brigade Service, the Main Investigation Administration, and the Chief Prosecutor's Office held a news conference today in relation to the arson at the Party Building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Boris (Muvakov), representative of the Chief Prosecutor's Office, announced that a preliminary investigation into the incident has already started. Great damage had been caused, and socially dangerous crimes, hooliganism, and arson had been committed. Those responsible will be prosecuted. Reports from witnesses are being collected, the examination of the scene of the incident continues, and video and photographs taken at the site of the fire are being processed.

Asked if criminal charges would be brought against Yosif Petrov and Radoy Ralin for incitement to commit a crime, Boris Muvakov answered that it had not been established whether the persons in question had motivated beforehand the desire present in the minds of the perpetrators to commit a crime. It is possible that they would be called as witnesses, but it was impossible to give a straight reply concerning whether instigation did in fact take place.

The news conference continues.

Podkrepa TU Begins Inquiry

AU2808100490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] We have already announced the formation of various commissions to investigate the circumstances surrounding the events on 26 August. Here is an announcement from the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation:

In connection with the incident, the federation has set up a public commission to clarify the circumstances of the incident. All citizens who are able to provide evidence may apply to the reception room, which is open today from 1000 to 2000 at No. 8 Positano Street in Sofia.

Regional Response Filters in

AU2708114890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the crime committed last night in the center of Sofia, the leadership of the Town of Truth and the In the Name of Truth Movement in Ruse have issued an appeal to the citizens of the city.

We categorically dissociate ourselves from the events in the capital, which developed into open extremism, and join in supporting the declaration of the president of the Republic, the declaration states.

Our correspondent Yovcho Karamfilov in Tolbukhin reports that, irrespective of their political convictions, everyone categorically condemns the vandalism in Sofia. Everyone wishes and expects that the competent organs will quickly detect the perpetrators of the crime and those who instigated them. The people with whom our correspondent talked in the town are of the opinion that the Grand National Assembly should reconvene today, form a strong government without delay, and adopt necessary laws.

A Bulgarian Radio correspondent has received a further declaration by the local leadership of the Town of Truth and the In the Name of Truth Movement. Guided by the desire to preserve civil peace and to prevent a rise in the political and social tension in Ruse and the country, the leadership declares that it will close down the Town of Truth before 1800 [1500 GMT] today, and at the same time calls upon its inhabitants to maintain readiness to strike in defense of all the movement's demands.

The public in Kurdzhali also severely condemns the vandalous act of the extremists, and insists on a most severe trial of those who set fire to the Party Building. This demand is supported by people from all political forces and sections of the population who signed the petition which was started early this morning. Members and supporters of the Movement for Defense of National Interests were the first to come forward, even during the night, to declare their readiness to help the local authorities and organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

At a meeting between the leaders of the main political forces, organs of the local authorities, and the regional directorate of the militia, agreement was reached to set up a permanently operating roundtable for holding discussions between all the political forces.

BTA Summarizes Events

AU2808071990 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Fire, Red Star, Shortage: The Talk of the Town"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (Mariya Velkovska and Iva Toncheva of BTA)—In the night when the Socialists' headquarters in central Sofia was set on fire, General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, promised that the red star will be taken down from the "Party house" by 9 a.m. today. "Why didn't you take it down earlier?" the people around asked. The huge red star surmounting the imposing building has created discontent among members of the public who want the communist symbols to be removed from public places.

General Semerdzhev, amidst a dense crowd, assured the people that if it was possible, he would immediately order the removal of the red star. He said "things should not take a dramatic turn. There should be no civil war." When someone suggested that the discontent might be directed against parliament, too, the General answered that this would be an outrage.

He explained to the multitude that he had returned to the arson scene after a kidney disease fit caused by a low. Asked by the multitude "why those in the helmets beat us up," General Semerdzhiev said he had ordered the law-enforcement authorities to use force only in self-defence.

Most of the onlookers believed that the police were doing nothing about it. policemen said they had no orders to intervene, that the law tied their hands or that they wited for the president to take a stand. Meanwhile Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, had already made his first radio statement, calling for a restoration of order and for non-violence.

When the Red Beret commandoes arrived, they were rumoured to have roughed up people inside the building. One of their officer said they spent half and hour or an hour in the BSP Headquarters. He said they had found nobody there except "our own men." "We had nothing to do there," he went on to say.

Apart from the red star and the Red Berets, the incensed people were irritated by the allegation that "just about everything is stored in the party headquarters," meaning food and other scarce items. General Atanas Semerdzhiev suggested that the malcontents form a commission which go inside together with him and check what is stored there. The crowd replied, "We don't want any more commssions," "You've got everything, we can't even buy bread," "Why don't you go, it's high time," a man repeated over and over again.

People queuing for newspapers, bread and milk early in the morning discussed the same subject. Many of them were inclined to justify the night of discontent. They blamed the BSP leadership for failing to take a clear stand and for precipitating what happened by its procrastination and arrogance, People wondered why, apart from General Smeredzhiev, no Socialist turned up at the BSP headquarters and why, instead of the declaration whereby Mr. Aleksandur Lilov condemned the action as "fascist," there was no order to remove the ill-fated star.

The socialists' daily "DUMA" also draws fire for setting a bad tone, for provoking and working people up against oppsotion figures.

In the street, you can here a lot of strong language addressed to the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev because of his view, expressed in parliament, that Bulgaria, too, can have a "gentle revolution." In his morning address, however, he spoke about a "reasonable revolution."

Throughout the day curious onlookers have been crowding around the police cordon which sealed off the BSP headquarters area. They pestered the policement with questions and were told that "the police are under orders." Supporters of the two major political forces argued in the street, suggesting all sorts of theories about the fire, including one according to which it was a socialists' frameup resembling the 1933 Reichstag affair.

In Burgas, Silistra and elsewhere around the country the local opposition organizations have distanced themselves from the "vandalism in the centre of Sofia" and have called for common sense and tolerance. In many places the leadershp of the major political organizations meet and declare their unanimous support for the president's address.

Fund for Repairing Headquarters Created

AU2708203990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] A collection to restore the damage inflicted by the attack against the headquarters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council—this is the initiative of Dimitur Stoyanov Georgiev from Sofia, who contributed the first 200 leva. For those citizens, supporters and sympathizers wishing to contribute, the number of the account is 421-111-685-003/7—TB Sofia AB.

Lukanov Interviewed on Recent Politcal Moves

AU2508151990 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 34, 20 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Angelina Petrova; place and date not given: "Nothing Good Lies Ahead for Me"]

[Excerpts] [Petrova] Why has the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] not assumed responsibility for the country's economic situation until now?

[Lukanov] Despite the fact that many people are saying that those responsible for the economic situation have not been pointed out, I think, from a personal point of view, that responsibility has already been assigned to a large degree, at least as far as society's political and moral assessment is concerned. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] What can you say about the talks behind the scene "at the top" concerning the election of the president, and now probably about forming the new government. You will probably justify this activity, but is not it dangerous to keep it a secret?

[Lukanov] I do not think that those talks require any justification. Unofficial "behind the scenes" talks are acceptable everywhere in politics, and comprise one of the instruments of politics. The important thing is to inform the public about the results of those talks. This is a democratic move that facilitates agreements, rather than replacing them. Subsequently, we, as in any other democratic state, shall witness many such contacts, which because of their specific nature, cannot be made public. The important thing is to refrain from turning those contacts into a collusion behind the back of the people and the legally elected and established institutions and structures.

[Petrova] Until now, nothing has been said to the people or in the parliament about what agreement is behind Zhelyu Zhelev's election as president.

[Lukanov] There are many conjectures and speculations about this issue. However, I would like to assure you that no commitments beyond those which have been published were assumed. In other words, each side taking part in the contact talks stated their understanding of the results of the talks, namely, the support of Dr. Zhelev's candidacy for the post of president. They announced that according to them this result is the beginning of a social contract. They also said rather interesting things about the priorities of our future legislative and political activity, and future government's moves. Naturally, not everything was clarified. However. this is so not because there are any secret agreements, but because we simply achieved only what already was announced. Nothing more. In the final analysis, we did not try to reach a twofold agreement—an open and a secret one—but a constructive momentum, which I hope was created and believe will continue. We do not demand the impossible—a specific agreement about things which apparently need more time. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] According to the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces, the forming of the new government should not be expected before mid-September.

[Lukanov] I think that this is a very late date. An agreement on this issue should be achieved if possible before the parliament's recess, if there will be one. Furthermore, I think that the parliament should not have a recess until an agreement concerning the government is achieved. The weakness of the present government stems from its provisional and temporary character, and thus turns into one of the factors of the progressing destabilization of the country. [passage omitted]

Views World Oil Prices

AU2708155890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] On 24 August Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov departed for Vienna, from where he will continue his journey to Prague. He promised, when he returns in three days time, to divulge the purpose of his trip and the results of his talks.

Before the aircraft carrying the prime minister departed, Andrey Lukanov answered a question on what would be the consequences for our economy now that the crude petroleum prices on the New York exchange have reached their highest level in the past five years—over $30 a barrel.

"It depends on how long this price will be maintained, because next year we will buy and sell oil at world prices in our goods exchange with the Soviet Union. If the price remains at $30 a barrel, this will undoubtedly be a severe blow to our interests, but if the rise is temporary, it is unlikely to have a strong effect.

"In any case, an unpleasant development is taking place for importers of petroleum like ourselves. It is exerting a further negative effect on numerous problems with which we have to cope," said Andrey Lukanov.

DUMA Scrutinizes New BSP Political Platform

AU2708114990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] A political program of achieving a certain goal—this is the essence of the platform on further renewing the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and turning it into a modern leftist party of democratic socialism that was published yesterday.

We do not only mean to renew or improve our party.

We aim at turning the BSP into an essentially new party. We did not have any future with the party of the old type, because the world has changed beyond recognition. Bulgaria is not isolated in Europe. If we remain the same we are doomed to disappear in a non-peaceful and violent manner. Let us openly state that the disappearance of the party at the present moment would mean a civil clash, or at least a chaos of the Balkan type.

Therefore, there is no other alternative than to fundamentally transform the party.

As the platform points out, the only alternative we have is to get ahead of the social changes. We still have this chance. We still can march together with history according to our initiative and not under the pressure of the street. This is our only chance to prevent our disintegration under the pressure of the events and save the party from a split.

The all-party discussion will doubtlessly enrich the document. Let every Socialist alone determine his philosophical and political position and attitude toward Marxism-Leninism. This is one of the most crucial and painful issues of the platform, because it represents the day of judgment for each of us. We are our own judges. The judgment is accompanied by moral and emotional dramas because truths that were considered until yesterday as eternal are being destroyed. In addition we have to answer incredibly difficult questions.

How long will the platform be relevant? The all-party discussion will hardly answer this question. Do we need such an answer? How many considerations and concepts did we have until now and they all were calculated decades in advance. Now they are where history has sent them.

Time is the only judge of the changes we will effect. We, as a party, and each of us respresents a component of time.

Tranformation to 'Modern Left Party'

AU2708153190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Vidin, 24 Aug (DUMA correspondent Ninko Gruev)—We stand for the transformation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party into a modern left party of democratic socialism, declared Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council at a public meeting in Vidin. Describing the nature of the party platform for the 39th BSP Congress, Lilov outlined the main features of the platform, which is a continuation of the manifesto and provides practical directions on how to implement the transformation. The Socialists' leader emphasized that under no circumstances will a split in the party be permitted. He said that the BSP supports the consolidation of the reformist forces, and advocates an all-party discussion before the congress, as well as a similar discussion afterwards, in order to turn the BSP into a political and parliamentary party of the masses.

The participants in the meeting listened to Aleksandur Lilov's address with interest and asked many questions, to which he gave replies.

Opinion Poll Shows Opposition Ahead of Socialists

AU2808081990 Sofia BTA in English 0718 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—For the first time the opposition got more approval and less disapproval than the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], according to the latest survey conducted by the National Centre for Public Opinion Research with the Grand National Assembly and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in early August. An analysis of the results appears in the latest issue of the "POGLED" weekly.

Experts attribute this fact to the failure of the BSP, which won the elections, to ensure the social stability and security it promised in its campaign platform.

The Ecoglasnost movement has retained its highest rating. The trade unions are increasing their popularity. Their higher prestige, experts say, is due to the elimination of political attitudes from trade union functions. According to the poll, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Green Party enjoy more approval, and there is an evident need of a political centre. Greater support is expressed for the radicals in the BSP.

The analysis of the poll results show that Bulgaria does not have classically established polarities of the left and right type. Sociologists find that, paradoxically, the BSP, traditionally a left-wing party, gets support from the most conservative part of the electorate. The opposition has the sympathies of radically minded Bulgarians. After its poor performance in the June elections, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party now wins a surprisingly great approval, moreover not from its traditional constituency, the rural population, but from intellectuals, students and workers.

The leaders' ratings, too, show peculiar tendencies: Their popularity rises or declines depending on the popularity of their parties. According to the poll, the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces Mr. Petur Beron enjoys increasing approval while the popularity of the Socialists' leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov declines.

Poll Indicates Public Discontent With Assembly

AU2808082390 Sofia BTA in English 0722 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—Nearly half of the respondents in the latest survey of the National Centre for Public Opinion Research are displeased with the work of the Grand National Assembly. Those who are more disappointed have voted for the opposition.

According to the poll which was conducted in early August, Bulgarians show two attitudes to their parliament: They are keenly interested (49.1 per cent of those interviewed follow closely the live broadcasts), but find the proceedings unsatisfactory. If this tendency persists, especially with the crisis, experts predict that social tensions will escalate.

According to 26.9 per cent of the respondents, the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces is more constructive, and 20.5 per cent prefer the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] M.P.'s. Nearly 40 per cent believe that neither the Socialists nor the opposition are constructive or express no opinion.

With these poll results sociologists believe that parliament is at a crossroads: It can play a constructive role for a way out of the crisis, but it can also block the way to a normalization of public and economic life. Parliament is likely to provide a balance and an outlet for social and political tensions but can also catalyse them.

The pollsters believe that at this point parliament and each of the M.P.'s take exceedingly great responsibility.

Verdicts in 1965 Gorunya Case 'Quashed'

AU2608173190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed BTA report: "Officers' Distinctions Restored, Verdicts Quashed"]

[Text] Sofia 17 Aug—President of the Republic Zhelyu Zhelev has signed a decree restoring the medals and orders of the officers sentenced in 1965 in connection with the trial of Ivan Todorov-Gorunya.

With its decision of 15 June 1990, the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has quashed the verdicts of Dragan Iliev Draganov, Georgi Ananiev Sredkov, Tosho Lukanov Angelov, Yordan Atanasov Vodenicharski, Dimitur Naumov Trupchev, Krum Petkov Angelov, Khristo Simeonov Boychev, Emil Stoychev Dyakov, Yosif Kirev Delchev, Pavel Vasilev Pavlov, Nikola Petrov Ninev, Ivan Stefanov Ivanov, Atanas Iliev Atanasov, Iliya Kunev Karagonov, Dimitur Tsvetanov Kostov, Kunyu Stoyanov Matev, Spas Arsenov Velkov, and Tsvetan Khristov Tsenev, and declared the verdcits unfounded and unjustified.

U.S. Trade Expert 'Optimistic' Over Economy

AU2408195490 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Dr. Richard Rahn [name as received], vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, made an optimistic assessment of the condition of the Bulgarian economy.

He told the press that the Bulgarian economy is not yet on the brink. It will be there in about two months' time, the American expert said.

The excessive dependence on the Soviet market and the Gulf crisis are the two principal factors for the deterioration of the Bulgarian economic crisis, according to Dr. Rahn, who leads a delegation of U.S. experts in all spheres of the economy and finance.

The principal external factor is the "destructive" system of economic organisation which cripples development. Fast privatization, the guaranteed right to private ownership and human rights in the new Constitution, measures to liberalize imports and exports: These are some of the key recommendations of the experts to their Bulgarian colleagues and the major political forces here. These recommendations will be probably listed in the report which the experts will submit at their next visit here in early October.

Dr. Rahn said he was pleased with the close views which the major political forces hold on the economic reform.

He is convinced that they will manage to reach consensus on the need for urgent changes and for foreign investment.

The American guest predicts a marvellous future for Bulgaria in the long range. The key factor of this is the fine level of Bulgarian experts, Bulgaria's most important "trump" in the struggle for a place in the sun on the international market.

The main areas of the economic reform and the package of urgent stabilizing measures, suggested by the government, had been discussed today at a meeting between the prime minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov and Dr. Rahn and the experts who accompany him.

After the meeting Mr. Lukanov told the BTA he was convinced that the recommendations of the authoritative U.S. experts have to be studied carefully and should be applied in the process of the economic reform.

Soviet Representative Discusses Trade Relations

AU2408214190 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 18 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with USSR trade representative Viktor Vasilyev by Vasil Asparukhov; place and date not given: "The Energy Crisis Is Not Caused by the USSR"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Asparukhov] What effects did Bulgarian exports to the USSR have on Bulgaria's domestic consumer market?

[Vasilyev] In physical volume, the deliveries of food and consumer goods by Bulgaria to the USSR form an insignificant proportion of the quantities produced and consumed in Bulgaria.

For example, in 1989 Bulgaria delivered to the USSR about 37,800 tonnes of meat and meat products and 9,200 tonnes of cheese, which represents four and nine percent, respectively, of the quantities produced in Bulgaria.

On 1 July 1990 (for the first half of the year), the deliveries of these products to the USSR amounted to 16,200 tonnes and 4,700 tonnes respectively.

In 1989, the deliveries of fresh vegetables and fruit to the USSR amounted to a little more than four percent of the total Bulgarian production. Moreover, deliveries have decreased in recent years. In 1989 Bulgaria exported 119,000 tonnes of fresh vegetables and fruit, 37 percent less than in 1986.

During the current year deliveries of these products are proceeding at a slower rate. For example, on 24 July 1990, 48,600 tonnes of this produce had been loaded and dispatched, as compared with 49,200 tonnes on the same date last year. Especially pronounced falls were recorded in deliveries of cherries (from 3,300 tonnes to 2,400 tonnes), peaches (from 1,700 tonnes to 400 tonnes), and apricots (from 1,600 tonnes to 140 tonnes), although we are told that the harvest was excellent this year.

There are considerable drops in deliveries of jams and syrups to the USSR, although the USSR sends 17,000 tonnes of sugar annually to Bulgaria especially for the manufacture of these products.

During the first half of this year Bulgaria has already received 9,000 tonnes of sugar, or more than 50 percent of the annual amount, and this in conditions where the USSR is experiencing a severe shortage of sugar and is rationing its sale to its own population almost everywhere (by a coupon system). However, during the same period we have received from Bulgaria only 6,200 tonnes of jams and syrups, which is 24 percent less than the annual obligation.

During the last few years, light industry exports have remained at more or less the same level in terms of value, but have decreased in terms of quantity. This means that the Soviet consumer is receiving smaller quantities of tailored goods and knitwear, footwear, fancy leather goods, and so forth.

During 1990 there has been a marked fall in Bulgarian deliveries of consumer goods, despite its obligations under the protocol on goods exchange and payments. Contracts have not been concluded for the export to the USSR of tailored goods valued at 34 million rubles [R], R7 million's worth of leather fancy goods, and R13 million's worth of furniture.

This is why the recent increasing tension in the Bulgarian consumer market cannot in any way be connected with the export of goods to the USSR.

[Asparukhov] How do you react to the views that the USSR helped Bulgaria to build giant plants which, figuratively speaking, have been left as "memorials" to our cooperation?

[Vasilyev] Recently people have been criticizing us by saying that the USSR, by providing technical cooperation to Bulgaria for its industrialization, caused some harm to the country's economy.

However, let us go back to the start of the road, to the time when political decisions were assessed not by the end result, but according to the goals set, the existing possibilities, and the extent to which the latter conformed to progressive trends of development and theoretical premises; to the time when the economy was ruined and disrupted after the war; to the period of reconstruction; and to the policy of industrialization. Do these stages correspond to the general direction of civilization's development, that is, to the development not only of the socialist countries, but also of the other countries in the world? Of course they did. Not only the countries whose economies suffered as a result of the world war passed through these stages, but also all the other advanced countries in the world.

In recent years no mention has been made of the fact—which is frequently forgotten—that during the period of our cooperation in the investment field over 260 industrial enterprises and installations were built, which provide over 65 percent of Bulgaria's goods output. Moreover, a number of new branches of industry were set up, without which Bulgaria would not have joined the other industrialized countries. Among these main branches one should include the energy industry, metallurgy, the chemical and petrochemical industries, and so forth.

Bulgaria holds a leading position among the European countries in the per capita production of electricity, nonferrous metals, chemical products, and paper, and possesses the necessary industrial potential to further develop its economy to modern standards.

We often hear critical remarks concerning the USSR, which is alleged to have forced Bulgaria to undertake the construction of certain giant plants. This is not true. What is more, in a number of cases large industrial projects were constructed without sufficient reasons and without Soviet participation. One example which may be mentioned is the construction, with the participation of foreign companies, of major engineering facilities—the vast plants at Radomir, Ruse, and Khaskovo—while failing to strictly plan the projects for these plants in accordance with the specific output required and the availability of suitable markets, and to ensure supplies of metal and essential components for the production.

As could have been foreseen, the so-called Third Metallurgical Facility in Burgas also proved not to have its supplies of metal and components secured.

One may mention other examples as well. In the situation that has arisen, there is a real need for us to jointly examine the efficiency of certain underutilized enterprises, in order, through sensible production sharing with the corresponding branches of Soviet industry, to establish mutually beneficial sharing of production, to improve the economic performance of the enterprises in question, and to jointly discover advantageous ways of selling the finished products on the world market.

In my opinion, the transition of our foreign trade relations next year to world prices and mutual settlements in convertible currency will undoubtedly help this restoration of the efficiency of individual enterprises.

[Asparukhov] What petroleum deliveries were made previously, and how great will the estimated reduction be?

[Vasilyev] During the last five years, the USSR's obligations in respect of petroleum deliveries to Bulgaria, within the framework of the annual bilateral protocols on goods exchange and payments, have remained unchanged at 11.8 million tonnes. In 1988 and 1989 the actual annual deliveries amounted to 11.4 million tonnes. Regarding the issue of the reduced volume of deliveries this year, I can provide the following figures. Up to 6 August 1990, the USSR delivered 6,145,000 tonnes to petroleum to Bulgaria. For purposes of comparison, I would mention that 6,726,000 tonnes were delivered during the same period last year. As you see, the difference is 581,000 tonnes, which in my opinion cannot provide a reason for the country's energy crisis. At present, I am unable to make a forecast concerning the fulfillment of petroleum deliveries during the rest of the year. [passage omitted]

Consultations With PRC Deputy Foreign Minister

AU2708182490 Sofia BTA in English 1649 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Filip Ishpekov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr. Tian Zengpei, deputy minister of foreign affairs of China [PRC], held consultations here on August 26 and 27. The sides considered bilateral concerns and expressed desire for a further promotion of their relations on a stable and long-term basis. The talks were held in a friendly atmosphere.

Mr. Tian Zengpei was received by Mr. Chudomir Aleksandrov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Ministry Demands Release of Citizens in Iraq

LD2708173390 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague 27 Aug (CTK)—Iraqi Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutaq was informed today that the Czechoslovak side, in harmony with the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions, considers the current situation in Iraq abnormal and unsuitable for the further activity of Czechoslovak organizations and their employees in the country.

During his reception at the Foreign Ministry the ambassador was again asked to convey to relevant Iraqi quarters Czechoslovakia's demand that all Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq be allowed to leave the country and that measures speeding up their return to Czechoslovakia be adopted.

Eastern Europe's Kurds Reject Kuwait Occupation

AU2608171090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed CTK report: "Standpoint of the Organization of Kurds in Eastern Europe; They Condemn the Occupation of Kuwait"]

[Text] CTK issued a statement by the Iraqi Kurdistani Front in Eastern Europe on the occupation of Kuwait by Iraqi troops. The statement declares, among other things, the following:

In view of the whole world, the regime of Saddam Husayn proceeded to occupy the Kuwaiti state. Thereby, it added yet another crime to that which it committed by waging the eight-year war with Iran.

The crimes of the Baghdad government do not consist only of inciting military conflicts using conventional arms, but also in employing chemical weapons which are internationally banned. It did not use these weapons against Iran but against its own people, particularly against the Kurds in the city of Halabja in March of 1988. More than 5,000 civilian inhabitants of Iraqi Kurdistan died in this action. The chauvinist crimes against Kurds have resulted over the past 20 years in more than 4,000 destroyed villages and in the forced emigration of the population.

The Iraqi Kurdistani Front strongly objects to the occupation of Kuwait and demands an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops. It also requests that the people of the whole world condemn this despicable act as well as the other crimes, and that they support Kurds and the opposition forces in Iraq in their struggle against the dictatorial regime in Iraq. At the same time, we emphasize that the presence of foreign troops in the Persian Gulf region does not contribute to the solution of the crisis in that part of the world.

Report on Havel Interview on Gulf Crisis, Economy

LD2608181690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 26 August broadcasts a 30-minute recorded interview with President Vaclav Havel, in its program "Conversations at Lany." The interview by editor Jiri Vejvoda was recorded at Lany on 25 August.

Vejvoda begins his interview with President Havel by congratulating him on being rehabilitated by the Prague Court last week.

Vejvoda goes on to ask Havel about his attitude toward news conferences. Havel admits that he is not very happy about this form of explaining his views, because news conferences are characterized by too wide a range of random questions and this does not allow him to explain the issues properly. That is why it was decided that he will try to give more short news conferences on specific issues.

Asked about his interest in economic issues, Havel notes that he is quite involved in the economic debate. In this context, he notes the remarks in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, which criticized his speech on the anniversary of 21 August for being too vague and populist, and points out that in this speech he tried to touch on economic issues. Havel comments on his involvement in talks on economic issues last week when he met Deputy Premier Vales. He goes on to outline the current state of economic reform. A scenario of economic reform is already prepared. It should be approved by the government on Thursday and subsequently put forward to the Federal Assembly, he says. The first step is the small-scale privatization, which does not require a new law and can be approved only by the government. It is aimed, above all, at liberating small enterprises from the authority of big administrative structures. The next step is to be the large privatization, which will require a privatization law to be adopted by the Federal Assembly. The privatization will be supervised then by some kind of the fund of national assets. Havel notes that Minister Klaus works very hard on this reform, but at the same time he points out that economic reform must be based on the consensus of experts.

Asked about Czechoslovakia's intention to get in the world market, Havel explains it will be a complicated process and that for the time being the country must still rely at least partly on traditional trade partners, such as the Soviet Union. In this context, he emphasizes that the new trade contracts will be contracts between equal partners.

Vejvoda asks Havel about the Gulf crisis. Havel replies: "My stance is clear: Czechoslovakia unequivocally condemns the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. It is a brutal violation of international law. Czechoslovakia also condemns the method of holding hostages, etc. We joined the embargo, and if the Security Council adopts another resolution on the economic blockade secured by military means, then we are going to consider the ways in which we can participate, though in a rather symbolical way. This means we might send some army doctors or medical material or air force pilots there, or something else depending on an agreement."

Havel goes on to note that there is one hopeful sign in this situation: It is perhaps the first case in which the world community has agreed on condemning an act of aggression. "I regret that our former regime kept supplying Iraq with the tanks which are nowadays perhaps used for this aggression. Of course, nothing of this kind is being supplied to them anymore and will not be supplied in the future. Nevertheless, it is part of the sad legacy of our past. During a news conference, I was asked about the training of Iraqi soldiers at the military academy in Brno. I did not know the answer, and after the news conference I immediately requested information about it. I was informed that there really are 80 Iraqi soldiers attending the academy. Nevertheless, in the present situation, they are not allowed to participate in the training. What is to be done about it will be decided according to how the situation develops."

Regarding the recent phenomenon of racism in Czechoslovakia, especially in the cases concerning the Romanian refugees, Havel stresses that any kind of racism is evil. He notes the absurdity of the situation: the Czechoslovaks, who for decades considered it their right to be granted asylum abroad, are not able to understand the Romanians' plight. At the same time, he points out that there are other Czechoslovaks who try hard to help the refugees and that Czechoslovak press unequivocally condems all racist forces. Havel notes that he is going to an Oslo conference next week where he will deliver speech about racism.

Answering a question about the management situation in the sphere of agriculture, Havel explains why Pitra and Toman, representatives of the former communist regime, are still in charge of the department entrusted with tackling problems of agriculture in the border areas. Their appointment was agreed upon in the first phase of the revolution, when it seemed to be a reasonable solution to avoid a head-on confrontation. Havel points out that the situation is different now and that he understands why Czech Premier Pithart recently stated the government's intention to put other people in charge of this institution.

Asked to describe the current situation, Havel admits that previously he underestimated the strength of the former economic mafia. Now he has already changed his view and is aware of the need to tackle this issue more forcefully. He says that he continues to learn in his office and is prepared to admit his mistakes.

Discusses Current Political Situation

AU2708073890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jan Urban in Prague Castle; date not given: "We Know Our Enemy"]

[Text] [Urban] You have returned from your vacation at a time when some people are beginning to express their fears about the very substance of our state. What is your opinion?

[Havel] Since I came into office, I have learned many things, one of which is that nothing is as bad as it seems and that people are often slightly inclined toward panicking. I had this feeling when I was on vacation, and later in Nicaragua and Mexico when various alarming reports reached me from this country. Now this feeling has returned. I do not think that the dissolution of the federation is imminent. Simply, there is certain speculation surrounding the further division of jurisdiction between the federal government and the national governments. It is true that the Slovak Government came up with an important initiative, which was probably unexpected by the Czech and Federal Governments; at least, they did not expect this so quickly, and a rather unusual atmosphere was the result. No doubt the mass information media contributed slightly toward this atmosphere with their commentaries, speculation, and interpretations. No doubt the participants in the Trencianske Teplice meeting also contributed toward this when they initially declared the meeting to be a working one behind closed doors and then referred to it in various ways and disagreed on the proper way of informing the public. The statement issued by several political activists in Slovakia probably also contributed toward the feeling that the federation is breaking apart. This, however, is not my feeling. Following Friday's [17 August] meeting here at Prague Castle, I do not think we are threatened by any crisis. It seems to me that all the relevant political forces in Slovakia are in favor of maintaining a federal state, and that they are aware of all the aspects of our common task.

[Urban] Mr. President, how would you define the positive specifications of our joint multinational state?

[Havel] I have spoken about this several times. It seems to me, more or less, that it never does any harm to repeat these things. I think, first and foremost, that our state should be a democratic state. This means a state in which there is a pluralist political system and in which there is a fundamental spectrum of political forces, as in those democracies that have been stable for a long time. It should be an authentically federative state. It should be a state—as I always say—which is cultural and spiritual. It should be state which depends on educated people. It should also be a state with good prospects, that is, with a single—and, so far, well-tried—economy which really works, the market economy. At the same time, it should be a socially just state which would—particularly during the transition period of our economy's extensive transformation—look after the social aspects. It should be a humane state which will not forget all its handicapped and deprived people. It should be a state which many people abroad think we are—or expect us to become—that is, a state with relative political and economic stability which will be a reliable brick in the construction Mr. Gorbachev calls the European home.

[Urban] It says in the communique from Friday's meeting that the enemies of our endeavor to construct a democratic state based on the rule of law are, first and foremost, the outdated structures. Why was emphasis placed on this problem in particular?

[Havel] I meet with this at every step. I receive countless letters, I speak with countless people, and I notice that an atmosphere of disappointment and frustration is spreading and intensifying in society because nothing is in fact changing; the political elite has changed, a free press has begun publishing where we can write freely and criticize anyone, but nothing much has changed in people's everyday lives. In the enterprise sphere—particularly in local administration—the power of those people who were there during the totalitarian system still prevails. Many of them merely quickly changed their coats or banners and are continuing to hang on to their advantageous positions. They are swiftly converting to various joint stock companies, and those very people who held power at a low level under the previous regime continue to survive. All these colossal bureaucracies—foreign trade enterprises, Interhotels, and RaJ [Restaurants and Cafes]—which prevent entrepreneurs from developing their independence and which hold back economic reform still survive today. Such bureaucracies even exist in the ministries and at a central level. All of this is really our main enemy and it seems to me that it will be necessary to take some very swift steps leading to the dissolution of those structures which were shaken after November, but which are again becoming established and even—here and there—laughing at the new democratic power.

[Urban] Will Friday's meeting in Prague Castle contribute toward resolving these problems?

[Havel] This meeting certainly helped to clear the air a little. It helped to eradicate certain suspicions and it helped us all to realize that neither the Czech Government nor the Slovak Government is led by irrationally nationalistic motives, and that they are really concerned about the best possible operation of our federation. In this sense, the meeting had positive results and that is good because fundamental agreement and unity between the organs of executive and legislative power—just as between the republican and federal organs—is, of course, a condition for the success of all our future steps, including that important step, that is, the very destruction of the surviving structures.

Dubcek Voices Concern Over 'Separatist Efforts'

LD2408150590 Prague CTK in English 1231 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava, 24 Aug (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek said today he was concerned about separatist efforts to declare two independent republics on the territory of Czechoslovakia, which he saw as a weakening of the joint path of democratization.

While honouring the memory of the victims of the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by armies of five Warsaw Pact countries here, Alexander Dubcek said it seemed a paradox to him that while a process of integration is taking place throughout Europe, two nations in one country—Czechs and Slovaks—act as disintegration factors in this process.

Dubcek said people must realize that Czechoslovakia's path to Europe depends on its political stabilization, and added that he considered the federative arrangement the best form of the coexistence of the two nations.

Expresses Desire for National Unity

LD2608200190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Interview with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by Lidia Mrazova on the occasion of the renewal of the national ascent of Krivan on 26 August; place not given—recorded; Dubcek speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Mrazova] Mr. Dubcek, I would not like to guess if there is any other politician who has had experiences comparable to yours. Furthermore, because you have had these experiences, I am sure you know of what our nations should steer clear in the next period, and on what they should be concentrating in contrast?

[Dubcek] From the statewide viewpoint, my unequivocal stand lies in the fact that with a fuller implementation of the federation, with a fuller development of the individual republics—the Slovak one and the Czech one, in which the Slovak nation will find a fuller implementation of its identity—it is necessary to see the starting point, but not in the separatist tendencies which are being rekindled today.

I am a proponent of the federation that does not prevent a fuller development of the identity of the Slovak nation. This is because it is better to look for our place in Europe with this unity. As far as the realization of these democratic changes is concerned, it is, above all, a need to act in such a way as to ensure that our democratic way becomes irreversible. We have adopted many laws in this sense, and they are strengthening this democratic way. As I see developments today, however, I think that there is too much splintering of strength; that, today, many are looking for politicizing rather than policy-making, which weakens the unity of the people, the unity of our nations, and thus the unity of the republic.

I remember 1968, when we set goals which united people, and I think today there should be more thought of what unites people, and not what separated them in the past. This is the only thing that can help us through the complicated and difficult years we still have to face.

Meciar Says Separatists Hampering Settlement

LD2508001990 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 24 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said at a meeting with workers at an enterprise at Ziar nad Hronom, central Slovakia, today that no one in Europe needs a poor relative whom he would have to feed, and Slovakia would become such a relative if it separated from the federation.

Referring to the powers of the governments, Vladimir Meciar said that the Slovak Government will not accept a federation in which the Slovak or the Czech Republic cannot assert itself. Representatives of the Slovak Government exert great effort to settle things as soon as possible, but their effort is hampered by such affairs as the declaration of a Slovak state during this weekend's celebrations of Andrej Hlinka, controversial leader of Slovak autonomy movement between the two world wars, which has been anonymously announced.

VPN on Slovak 'Extremist Forces'

LD2508105790 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2010 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Statement issued by the Public Against Violence movement]

[Text] According to information available to the Slovak Republic Ministry of Interior, we must not exclude the possibility that in the context of the national act of rememberance of Andrej Hlinka on 25 and 26 August a provocative and illegal attempt to declare a Slovak state will be made.

The Public Against Violence movement Coordinating Center considers any such attempts disgraceful to the memory of Andrej Hlinka, who in his well-known bequest to the nation in 1934 clearly formulated his attitude toward a common state. I quote: As all Slovaks do not oppose the unity of the Czechoslovak state, in my view equally those who deny the natural rights of the Slovak nation are not the faithful and devoted citizens of this state, end of quote.

At the same time it is impossible not to see that similar attempts accompany artificial fannings of nationalist emotions which we have witnessed lately. We witnessed the infamous unveiling of a commemorative plaque to Dr. Tiso, we read a confused statement by nine Slovak political parties and movements. Some individuals from these and other political circles are, with flippant and reprehensible irresponsibility, playing with the good name of Slovakia and Czechoslovakia in the world. They take an irrational course of action and distinguish themselves by political blindness.

At the same time there is no doubt that if nationalism, chauvinism, or racism are brought to a head it will be impossible to fulfill Slovakia's justified demands within the framework of the federation. It makes the position of democratically thinking Slovak politicians more difficult, puts spokes in the wheel of the persistent and all the more fruitful efforts by the Slovak Government to achieve a really strong national republic.

The extremist forces are nowadays the biggest enemy of Slovakia's real development.

The Slovak public must not be silent on this issue because this casts over it a shadow of decayed provincialism, isolationism, and national intolerance—a shadow with which we will never become a part of the democratic Europe.

Slovak Separatists Demand Sovereignty at Rally

LD2608174690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] A two-day Slovak-wide commemoration of Andrej Hlinka in Ruzomberok culminated today. Our correspondents Karol Sveton and Lubomir Krno report the latest news:

[First unidentified correspondent] The second day of commemoration began in the morning hours today with the Holy Mass, which was celebrated by Monsignore Frantisek Tondra, bishop of the Spis Diocese, in front of about 20,000 believers among whom were Frantisek Miklosko, chairman ofthe Slovak National Council; Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Slovak Government; and other guests. The Holy Mass was a celebration of Andrej Hlinka's activities as a priest and as a national activist. In the course of the Holy Mass it was made clear that the church dissociated itself from some extremists efforts to break the Republic.

[Second unidentified correspondent] A much more turbulent atmosphere was evident at the afternoon's festive rally, which for almost a quarter of an hour was permanently interrupted by slogans shouted by a rather large group of members of the Slovak National Party. Some of the slogans were as follows: Slovak state; Independent Slovakia; Away with Prague; Benes is a murderer. There were also other slogans unequivocally demanding an independent Slovak Republic.

Their storm of whistles and protests interrupted any speaker who so much as hinted at the possibility of Czechs and Slovaks living in a common federation. In this way the addresses of a number of speakers were interrupted, including an address by Dr. Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier of the Slovak Republic and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement.

By shouting their slogans they forced Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party, to deliver a speech. He said, among other things, that the seventy-two-year marriage with the Czechs in a common state had not been successful, and asked the Slovak National Council to declare the independence of Slovakia. His statement was met with massive support.

The same response was accorded a statement by the representatives of the Union of Slovak Teachers, who called on the deputies of the Slovak National Council to undertake the historical action of adopting a statement on the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic.

A memorandum was read at the end of the rally. It included a request that the right to self-determination of the Slovak nation be embodied in the Constitution, a request that the whole world be told the true history of our nation, and a request that the Slovak language be immediately established in law as the official and state language throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic, without exception. At the same time it called for the unity of all political parties and movements.

Czech, CSFR Governments Differ on Reform

AU2408172090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 17 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Frantisek Vlasak, deputy premier of the Czech Republic, by Jiri Leschtina; place and date not given: "The Fragile Reform Egg"]

[Text] [Leschtina] The public is seriously concerned. Somewhere in lofty heights economists argue about reform while enterprises are drowning in uncertainty about what will happen to taxes, exchange rates, and privatization next year. Representatives of scientific circles and individual ministers mutually exchange accusations of reactionary tendencies and excessive radicalism while the few would-be private entrepreneurs continue groping around in the unintelligible jungle of regulations, decrees, and edicts. The feeling in society is growing from day to day that the reform egg, much-touted for half a year, still has not been laid. How would you respond to this charge, Mr. Deputy Premier?

[Vlasak] Of course, from the viewpoint of the enterprises, the reform process proceeds slowly. From the viewpoint of the central bodies, on the other hand, which must decipher the intricate problems of economic relations, everything proceeds at an incredibly fast pace. We have never had to deal with anything as complex and there exist no models to follow. We must find our own Czechoslovak path. At the same time, there exist no disputes about the reform's goal—market economy as one of the prerequisites of prosperity. Clashes of opinions occur in the process of searching for methods of arriving at this goal.

[Leschtina] Next Tuesday [21 August] there will be a session of the Economic Council of the Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic [CSFR], which Minister Klaus recently said would be crucial for the further fate of the economic reform. Could you betray to us which concept you will present at this economic "summit" and in what way your views will differ from the concept of the Federal Ministry of Finance?

[Vlasak] I am absolutely at one with the team of the minister of finance in that an essential prerequisite for a fast transition toward a market economy is the liberalization of prices as of 1 January 1991. This freeing of prices will undoubtedly make itself felt in a certain rise in prices—according to our estimates, prices should increase by between 10 and 12 percent. The CSFR Ministry of Finance proposes that, simultaneously with the freeing of prices, foreign trade, too, be liberalized and that our koruna be devalued against freely convertible currencies. The price of the dollar should rise from today's 17 korunas to 24 or even 30 korunas. This would, of course, make raw materials imported by our enterprises for their own production needs far more expensive. Too many enterprises would quickly wind up in this situation, while other enterprises would project the increased cost of inputs into their prices, which would raise further the already high price level of their products on the market. I am convinced that in today's unstable economy it is necessary to reconsider whether it would not be more reasonable to liberalize foreign trade gradually and to initially protect enterprises against the most severe impact of foreign competition.

[Leschtina] No doubt, privatization will be another sticking point at the session of the Economic Council.

[Vlasak] Yes. As is known, the Ministry of Finance bases its privatization policy on the free distribution to citizens of a part of the present state-owned property. Our expert team believes, however, that, if applied on a mass scale, this method of privatization would lead to the selling out of enterprise shares below price. Rather, we favor privatization methods that have been tested in the world, such as the sale of shares on long-term credit, the issuance of shares to employees, etc. We could, however, find an acceptable compromise on these issues, in my opinion, because—given the extensive scope of the privatization in store for us—it should be possible for all forms of privatization, including the much-discussed issue of investment coupons, to find suitable application. It is beyond dispute that, as far as large enterprises are concerned, the greatest problem is that people are short of the required capital. It is possible, on the other hand, to immediately start privatizing small enterprises in the sphere of public catering, retailing, tourism, and services, in which our citizens would quickly earn capital for further investment. I believe that the three governments are in absolute agreement on this issue.

[Leschtina] Acting in absolute agreement, however, our three governments have reprehensibly undervalued the sphere of small private businesses. The new law on private enterprise has done nothing to bring down the bureaucratic barriers.

[Vlasak] It is true that, preoccupied with the large problems of the economy, we have really neglected a great deal in this respect. We have forgotten somewhat that a rapid improvement in services, catering, and retailing, which can be brought about only by private entrepreneurs, would be the reform's best reference. This mistake must be quickly set right, not only by amending the law on private enterprise and doing away with regulations that are outdated but, first and foremost, by means of an active policy in support of private enterprise, by providing tax relief, cheap credits, etc.

[Leschtina] Let us return to the polemics among economists. They are often interpreted as a dispute between your older generation and younger liberals. I have also read the view that one cannot trust those who in the fifties introduced command management, in the sixties created a hybrid of the market and the plan, in the seventies were without any attachment, and, finally, in the eighties "discovered" the merits of the market and traditional values.

[Vlasak] Naturally, we, the older generation of economists, have gone through a certain development, from which we have learned. In the sixties we were preparing the reform under completely different political conditions and were trying to bring about some kind of a symbiosis between the plan and the market economy. Today we know that there is only the path of the market. No hybrid is possible. The younger economists are, naturally, in a better situation. They did not have to go through this development. They are not burdened by the past but they also lack the invaluable experience from our errors.

[Leschtina] Do you think that an early attainment of agreement on the reform methods is even possible, in a situation when economists of various generations and so diverse opinions sit in the governments?

[Vlasak] Our economic problems are so complicated, and will affect every citizen, that we must try to seek solutions by joining forces.

[Leschtina] What will happen if no agreement is reached—neither in the Economic Council nor between the governments?

[Vlasak] In that case it will be necessary to submit to parliament several variants, which would, as a matter of fact, be in accord with the parliament's resolution, which demanded the presentation to it of alternative scenarios of the economic reform.

[Leschtina] At the very end of our interview Deputy Premier Vlasak declared that the reform is no game of chess. He was conducting polemics using the well-known analogy of Minister Klaus, who sometimes compares the reform process to a game of chess. At the same time, however, the deputy premier spoke appreciatively of Vaclav Klaus's expertise. I gained the impression, also from other indications, that a compromise, which is what ministers should strive to achieve first of all, is not completely out of the question. A shiver runs down my spine when I imagine our parliament, in its present composition, discussing and voting on "alternative" reform scenarios.

Prague CSS Branch Attacks Party Leadership

AU2608142590 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 17 Aug 90 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Negative Standpoint"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] met in Prague on Tuesday [14 August] to discuss the situation in the party and society.

It unanimously rejected the expulsion of F. Heres and L. Batora, leading functionaries of the city party organization, from the CSS, which was published in the press as an act of the CSS Central Committee Presidium. It informs party members and the public that the two continue to hold their posts.

The Prague City Committee Presidium at the same time notes that the activities of the CSS leadership directed against the National Social Assembly, and even against the Extraparliamentarian Assembly, bear out that, unfortunately, the group around J. Vyvadil (which, paradoxically, has given itself the name "19 November Movement") is prepared to risk even a split in the party to defend their personal positions. Applying completely totalitarian methods, this group is trying to continue to exercise control over the party in a way which not only is incompatible with general political ethics, but also does not correspond to the role which our party will have to play in the present complicated domestic political situation. The party leadership is applying methods against the Prague city organization, which has been branded as the "center of factional activity," which are clearly aimed at exerting pressure on it. These include the freezing of autonomous financial funds, the intimidation of paid staff of the party's city secretariat, and barring entry to the city secretariat premises. The City Committee Presidium sharply condemned these practices. In conclusion, the City Committee Presidium states that by creating an atmosphere of pressure, the present party leadership has lost the last bit of confidence. Our party's responsibility before society, which will seek in the communal elections a truly civic and modern party freed of all the remnants of the past, makes it incumbent upon us, the resolution of the City Committee Presidium states, to bring about radical changes in the structure and program of the party, which the present leadership is in no way capable of accomplishing.

Slovaks Seek Acceleration on Jurisdiction Issue

AU2608161990

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 18 August on paqe 2 publishes an 800-word selection from an interview with Vaclav Vales. CSFR deputy premier, by an "r"-signed MLADA FRONTA correspondent, entitled "No Surprises." The place and date of the interview are not given. Vales asserts that the meeting in Trencianske Teplice was not a result of the Slovak initiative, but rather an outcome of the meeting of the premiers on 16 July. The demands made by the Slovak side, according to him, were not new. Actually, he says, what the Slovak representatives wanted was an acceleration in dealing with the jurisdiction issue. Vales sees the situation in communications as a replay of 1968. Dealing with transport, and particularly the railways, will be more difficult and foreign models should be studied.

Further on Vales asserts that he does not believe that two separate economies would form in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Moreover, he says, the representatives of all three governments should jointly seek solutions to the problems in foreign trade as, for instance, in dealing with the situation in trade with the USSR and the GDR. The coordination of such activities should remain, according to Vales, with the federal government.

The working commissions cannot make decisions, Vales says, they will only make proposals. Hence, it should not be difficult to reach a consensus in them.

Responding to a question on whether the meeting did not violate the constitutional regulations, Vales says that it could not, because only documentation was prepared for discussion in the governments.

According to Vales, all recommendations by the commissions will be made public only after being dealt with by the governments.

Prosecutor's Office on Investigation of 1968

AU2608181990

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 18 August on page 2 publishes a 600-word statement from the CSFR Prosecutor General's Office, entitled "Investigation of the Circumstances of the 'Brotherly Help' Will Be Completed by the End of the Year." The statement has three parts. According to the first part, since 6 April 1990, a team of investigators from the Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior for the Investigation of the Anticonstitutional Activities is working under the constant supervision of the Prosecutor's Office on the inquiry into the criminal offense committed by inviting the Warsaw Pact military intervention in 1968. Until now, 80 people have been questioned, and the file has 3,500 pages. "The investigation follows a constantly adjusted plan, according to which a total of approximately 500 people are to be questioned." The investigating team is to be reinforced, the statement reads, and the inquiry is to be completed by the end of the year.

The second part of the statement declares that the CSFR Prosecutor General's Office is concurrently investigating the criminal offense of abusing the powers of a public official committed by the appropriation of the assets of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia during the period from December 1971 to 10 December 1989, which damaged the Czechoslovak state. The conclusion of this case—even if no new circumstances are discovered and no new suspects involved—cannot be expected before the end of the year.

The statement concludes with the report that the CSFR Prosecutor General's Office also recently initiated an investigation into another case of abusing the powers of a public official, and charged three former leading officials of the Czech Prosecutor General's Office, who consciously violated the law, and thus, on the one hand, harmed private persons, and on the other, hampered the prosecution of offenders inclusive of the reimbursement of damages caused. This investigation should be completed in the near future.

Civic Forum's Horizontal Structure Preserved

AU2708080290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[Unattributed report: "A New Structure of the Civic Forum; Steps Toward Democracy"]

[Text] "We are passing through a crisis and people wonder what has actually changed; a new wave came of fortifying so-called nomenclatura fraternities," was heard on Saturday [18 August] at the meeting of the Civic Forum Republican Assembly in Prague.

The first steps toward the gradual revival of the administrative apparatus were realized. In the very near future, a proposal will be submitted to the Federal Assembly Presidium or legal measures will be taken, making possible an increase in the number of administrative posts filled by appointment. The reason for this firm manner in dealing with the economic and political mafiosos is not a general purge, but the completion of the democratic revival.

Petr Pithart, premier of the Czech Republic, who attended the assembly in order to take part in the discussions, said that moves to dismiss administrative officials should not become a nationwide vetting campaign. At the same time, he commented on the recent challenge by the Civic Forum Prague Council, saying that action against the old structures cannot be undertaken in the same manner as the former screenings—i.e., in a discriminatory fashion, which is unacceptable from the legal point of view. If, in such cases, I stepped in and supported the people, then it would be because I want to protect the legal code, Petr Pithart said, indirectly responding to a hidden reproach that some of his recent speeches weaken the Civic Forum's authority.

Petr Kucera, representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, dealt briefly with the bill on property restitution, which is being drafted. According to him, it will provide an impetus for the much-demanded privatization and, therefore, also the starting point on the road out of the present crisis and the decline of the Civic Forum's authority.

The assembly also dealt with structure and organization. The Civic Forum still does not want to be a precisely ideologically delineated party, although it would then be easily organizable. The next assembly, which is to take place on 15 September, will elect a new Council of the Republican Civic Forum and also the Civic Forum representatives.

Ivan Fisera moved that the Civic Forum chairman be elected to head the Republican Civic Forum. The chairman should be a prominent personality, who would well represent the basic political and ethical values of the movement. After a discussion, this proposal was accepted by the assembly and it was embodied in the Civic Forum structure. The chairman of the Civic Forum can be elected by the Civic Forum Republican Assembly.

The most significant outcome of the assembly session is the approval of the new structure of the Civic Forum, which is consistently built on the horizontal principle. The highest organ of the movement is the assembly, which elects the council, the representatives, and may elect a chairman. It also may recall any of these organs.

The assembly also accepted a statement on the anniversary of 21 August [1968], in which it states, among other things, that 21 August was the day of betrayal as well. It came out in the first days of the occupation and we have not forgotten to this today.

Farmers, Social Democrats Urge Coalitions

LD2408200990 Prague CTK in English 1257 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 24 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czechoslovak Farmers' Party met here today with officials of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party agreed upon recommending to their members to create coalitions in the forthcoming local elections. [sentence as received]

According to a statement handed over to CTK today the leaderships of the Czechoslovak Farmers' and Social Democratic Parties share the concern as regards the surviving positions of 'old structures' in Czechoslovakia's economic life. They agree with the need to introduce qualified persons who are not politically discredited into leading economic functions in industry, agriculture and state administration through democratic and legal means.

Both parties' officials blamed the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence for the current state of society, pointing out that these two decisive political forces were unable to ensure corresponding legislative and other conditions for a democratic exchange of old structures in the past eight months. They also voiced concern in connection with the monopoly of these two movements in the mass information media.

Klaus Defends Restrictions on Travel by Poles

AU2608185190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Aug 90 p 6

[Unattributed CTK report: "On Czechoslovak-Polish Relations"]

[Text] V. Klaus, minister of finance of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, received Jacek Baluch, ambassador of Poland, yesterday. In a conversation Minister Klaus called the Polish ambassador's attention to a certain asymmetry between the interests of both sides regarding a solution to the problem of [restoring] small cross-border traffic. In this connection he said that the federal government primarily defends the interests of Czechoslovak citizens. It therefore links the freeing of small cross-border traffic to the introduction of a balanced market exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna against the Polish zloty. The two sides will continue intensive negotiations on this and other issues (the construction of the Stonava coking plant and the pollution of the Odra River and of the Krkonose mountain range) in an endeavor to find mutually acceptable solutions.

Preliminary Czech Republic Grain Harvest Results

AU2408150190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefs" column]

[Text] This year's harvest of grain crops in the Czech Republic has almost been completed. The total results are surprisingly good. According to preliminary estimates, up to 7.7 million tonnes of basic grain crops could be harvested in the Czech Republic this year.

New 'Incident' at Nuclear Power Plant Reported

AU2408121990 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 22 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "CSFR: Incident at Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Prague—In its report on the second quarter of this year, the CSFR Nuclear Energy Commission has disclosed an incident at the controversial Slovak nuclear power plant Jaslovske Bohunice. In early June, an "extraordinary interruption" occurred in the first block, as a result of the failure of an oil pressure control device. Other than that, the operation of Bohunice was "stable."

The CSFR Nuclear Energy Commission stated that the operation of all installations in nuclear power plants is "reliable and stable." It was further stated that a total of 205 guidelines on the operation and the design of nuclear power plants were issued in the first six months.

Poll on Minority Relations Released

AU2408134790 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Mario Dobrovsky report: "Tension—An Ace in the Game of Politics?"]

[Text] The results of representative sociological research, conducted by the Center for Research Into Social Problems in the first half of June, have shown that only 33.5 percent of the Slovak population feels no tension in its immediate surroundings which would originate from interethnic relations; yet, as many as 21.4 percent do feel such tensions with respect to all ethnic groups. This testifies to a high sensitivity to this problem. Tension is felt mostly in relations between Romanies and other Slovak nationalities (54 percent of respondents give this answer), as opposed to relations between Slovaks and Hungarians (38 percent), between Slovaks and Czechs (25 percent), and between foreign nationals and other Slovak residents (22 percent).

We do have, therefore, an ethnic problem and tensions ensuing from it. However, the question of how real and authentic this problem is, who is "dramatizing" it, and what is the share of the pertinent ethnic groups in it remains open. The problem between Slovaks and Hungarians is focused on one point—the legalization of the Slovak language throughout Slovak territory. This demand is supported by 82.5 percent of the Slovak population—the Hungarian population excepted, of course. Other than the language issue, the entire problem between Slovaks and Hungarians appears to be mostly a Hungarian issue, with some open questions: Why, at the local level, is this problem perceived only by Hungarians? Why is this problem more pronounced in Bratislava and in the Central Slovak Region, where the concentration of Hungarians is lower and where, by coincidence, the Slovak National Party has a strong backing? We can also find similar irrational elements in relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

No matter what the background to these ethnic problems is, it always influences the way they are solved and the atmosphere surrounding such a solution. This is why many unclear things about interethnic relations in Slovakia cause a significant distrust in the solutions made by government organs. While 52 percent of the population believe in a fair solution to ethnic problems by the Slovak Government, only 39 percent of the responents trust the federal government to do this.

Historicity of Czechoslovak Borders Viewed

LD2608164590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Excerpts] We now present our Sunday foreign political commentary, written today by (?Richard Seeman).

One issue which in recent days has an increasingly high profile in our state's politics is the future setup of our state. Very vociferous in this respect are the proponents of tendencies for the disintegration of the federation expressed in slogans calling for the absolute sovereignty of the national republics, historical lands, and regional nationalities. This welter of nationalist and separatist demands seems to have drowned the voices of reason, which are warning that the implementation of these demands could throw our state into political, economic and legal disarray. Instead of finding our way among the advanced states, we could very soon find ourselves among the less developed countries—the so-called Third World.

It is not my task in a foreign political commentary to deal with the unforeseeable economic repercussions for each one of us if we succumb to this wave of nationalism, separatism, and regionalism. However, I do want to draw attention very emphatically to some facts which I think are escaping the attention of those ambitious politicians and their supporters who are kindling these emotions: the position of our state in the international context.

Our state border, and therefore also the independence and national identity of the Czech and Slovak nation, did not come into being on the basis of historical entitlement. Only one part of our border—in the Czech lands—has truly historical foundations. As for Slovakia, North Moravia, and Silesia, however, the border there came into being primarily on the basis of the will of the victors of the First World War. It is thanks to the adroit policy of Masaryk, Benes, and Stefanik that the Czechoslovak border as we know it came into being. This border is advantageous from the economic point of view, but as recent history has shown, it must not be forgotten that it is rather insecure.

As long as the setup decided by the Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Trianon agreements after the Second World War existed, our border appeared to be inviolable. When this setup collapsed in 1938, however, Munich showed us all the real state of affairs. The historical border was to no avail, let alone the one that Czechoslovakia won in the bloody set-tos in Slovakia and Tesin. In his bid to destroy Czechoslovakia, Hitler made use of all its enemies, enabling the Hungarian irredentists to occupy southern Slovakia, and Poland part of North Moravia, while he himself gobbled up a considerable part of Bohemia and Moravia and the whole of Silesia. In the second phase, he subsequently left a Slovak state that was entirely crippled.

Unfortunately, some politicians are pursuing their current objectives by trying to create the illusion that this represented the culmination of the historic aspirations of the Slovaks for their own national identity. Yet their education must surely tell them that the existence of Slovakia at that time was merely a means to an end, in the interest of the practical policy of Nazi Germany. From the racial point of view the Slovaks—just like the Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians, too—were destined for extermination after the expected victory in the war. [passage omitted]

Fortunately, the Second World War ended in the defeat of Nazi Germany, and Czechoslovakia again stood on the side of the victors. Thanks to the tireless policy of our government in exile, headed by Dr. Edvard Benes, the pre-Munich borders were reinstated and guaranteed by the allied powers. This was no easy matter, because Britain, for example, was willing for a long time to recognize the restoration of an independent Czechoslovakia, but more or less with the Munich borders. Moscow, while talking about recognizing the pre-Munich border, did nothing for a long time to counter the efforts of Slovak Communists to add Slovakia to the Soviet Uiuon. In the end, Slovakia was spared this catastrophe, but sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was added to the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

The stability of the borders of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was practically surrounded on all sides by states which did not, in fact, recognize it, was subsequently entrusted to the Soviet Union. Gottwald capitalized very skillfully on this situation, and in the end Dr. Benes, too, came to terms with the fact that alliance with Moscow would ensure that the Czechoslovak borders remained unchanged. In the last 40 years our borders have, indeed, remained untouched, but at what price? In 1968, the guarantor turned into an occupier, thus showing what value it attributed to the inviolability of our borders. Despite this it remains the case that many of us have fallen prey to the illusion that our borders are fixed once and for all. This, however, is a very dangerous illusion.

It is no coincidence that now that totalitarianism has been overthrown, the nationality question is coming to the fore once again in former communist countries. It is no secret that there is more and more talk these days in Hungary about the tens of thousands of compatriots who live in the upper land—and by that they mean Slovakia—within borders that were unjustly defined following the First World War. The basic problem is that in the past, Slovakia—in contrast to the lands of the Czech crown—was an inseparable part of Hungary. Another fact is the historically nonexistent border between North Moravia and Poland. In addition, in order to complicate the situation even further, the Ukrainian nationalist movement is calling for those parts of eastern Slovakia where the Ukrainian national minority lives to be joined to it. While the Czech historical border with Austria and Germany has so far been unassailable, I think that even here it is a good thing to bear in mind the statement by former NATO General Secretary Joseph Luns who said, and I quote: Although Germany itself will not be aggressive, the thought of neighboring countries where 82 million people live in a strategically very important region is no reason to rejoice.

That is the real situation today. These days our state has no big brother either in the East or the West. It has to rely on itself, and not, as in the past, on others; indeed, in the last 70 years we have had to pay a cruel price for this on two occasions. This is the angle from which we need to understand our current foreign policy, which is carefully following this new constellation in Europe. That is why we are making such an effort for a new security system in Europe, and that is why in the Cernin Palace [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] they are rejecting the kind of initiatives that propose that we immediately withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and declare neutrality. It must be said that this would be nothing more than a gesture which, as things stand at present, would not enhance the international standing of our state. On the contrary, at a time when a new security system has yet to be established and our neutrality would have no international guarantee, Czechoslovakia would find itself in a disadvantageous position.

That is why the actions of such politicians who would prefer, under the circumstances, to see Czechoslovakia disintegrate into sovereign and independent republics, lands, and regions is very shortsighted. It is possible that if these tendencies were to reach fruition, our country would certainly have more posts for presidents, premiers, and other government officials, but for how long, I ask myself.

The European Community is not interested in admitting to its ranks mini-states which are at loggerheads with one another, and geographically vague regions. It is willing to admit prospering and stable states, and, at best, to tolerate the rest in the framework of so-called Balkanization—a phenomenon which is now showing itself in very marked nationalist terms in southeast Europe. More politicians can make a living there, too, but just look at the material situation those nationalities are in. This is a situation that I think each one of us should understand, the sooner the better for us, for Czechoslovakia, and for developed Europe.

Relations With Nicaragua, Mexico Discussed

AU2408162890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 20 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Will We Buy Oil in Mexico!?"]

[Text] As we already know, President Vaclav Havel made an official visit to Nicaragua and Mexico from 13 to 16 August.

His meetings with representatives of both countries, the contents of the negotiations, and the signed documents clearly reflect the new approach of Czechoslovak foreign policy toward international relations.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, therefore, considers it correct to clarify or supplement the information made public thus far about the contents of the negotiations and the documents that were adopted. In an undoubtedly extremely important document signed by S. Stracar, CSFR minister of foreign trade, and Silvio de Franco Montalvan, Nicaraguan minister of the economy, the Nicaraguan side acknowledges its outstanding Czechoslovak debts inherited from the previous government (roughly $150 million without credit) with the proviso that the specific amount and method of repayment be discussed by experts during the third quarter of this year. An agreement on cooperation between the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the years 1991-92 anticipates, apart from the normal forms of cooperation, that two Czechoslovak experts on foreign policy will be sent to Nicaragua in 1991 and 1992 for a period of up to two weeks to deliver lectures on agreed topics to staff at the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign affairs.

In 1991 and 1992, the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign Affairs will send two members of its managerial staff to the CSFR for a period of up to two weeks to exchange experiences. In conversations between representatives of both foreign ministries, the Czechoslovak side confirmed the validity of the obligation it previously undertook to provide grants to Nicaraguan students with the proviso that this year it will accept students according to the existing quota and that their acceptance in future years will be discussed.

Negotiations about supplies of Mexican oil—for which the CSFR would pay with engineering products, power plants, or other commodities—got off to a promising start in Mexico. The amount, price relations, and other essential information are the subject of continuing negotiations. The constructive bilateral approach with an understanding for the possibilities, needs, and problems of the other partner strengthens the hope that they will come to a successful conclusion.

Stracar Interviewed on Latin American Trip

AU2608132190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar by Marcela Doleckova, in Mexico City on 15 August: "Federal Minister of Foreign Trade: I Am Satisfied With the Results"]

[Text] Separately from President V. Havel's program, commercial talks, too, were held during his official visits to Nicaragua and Mexico. They were attended by S. Stracar, federal minister of foreign trade; J. Kollert, his deputy; and R. Wagner, the president's economic adviser. At the airport in Mexico City Wednesday night [15 August], shortly before the president's departure for Prague, S. Stracar gave an interview to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

[Doleckova] Did you achieve what you intended to in Nicaragua and Mexico, as far as the economic sphere is concerned?

[Stracar] Generally speaking, we did. In the case of Nicaragua we must, for the time being, be content with the fact that the present government acknowledged the previous government's commitments, and that commissions of experts will immediately start negotiations on how Nicaragua will repay its credits. If we were tougher in our demands, we would probably lose the Nicaraguan market altogether. It is easy to abandon a market, but difficult to return to it. As far as Mexico is concerned, the talks on oil purchases look very promising for the present—both in terms of a one-time purchase this year and long-term supplies in the years to come.

[Doleckova] Would we pay for the Mexican crude oil in cash?

[Stracar] No. We would pay for it with deliveries of engineering goods. We are submitting a list of what we have to offer to the Mexican Ministry of Energy. However, the decision on whether Mexico will be able to accommodate our demand in the present tense situation on the oil market will be made by the management of Pemex, the state petroleum concern. The problem is that Pemex, and this is natural, wants to meet the needs of its long-standing customers first. I hope that Czechoslovakia will be one of them in the future.

[Doleckova] During his meeting with Mexican businessmen, President V. Havel called on them to become involved in Czechoslovakia. Do you not think that this invitation is yet premature?

[Stracar] If this government wants to succeed, it must quickly create scope for foreign capital. This would have to be done by any government. Every government, just as we do, must create opportunities for its entrepreneurs abroad. As a matter of principle, however, it is only up to them how successful they will be in fighting for this market. This is also why we are now departing Mexico for Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil. The huge Latin American continent now accounts for only less than 2 percent of our foreign trade turnover.

Agreement on CSFR-Austrian Venture Signed

AU2408143390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefs" column]

[Text] An agreement on founding an enterprise with foreign capital participation was signed by L. Bausbek, director of the Austrian firm Allgemeine Bautenvertriebsgesellschaft from Vienna, and I. Carnogursky, director of the Hydrostav Bratislava state enterprise, in Bratislava [date not given]. The new venture, called IPEC—a company with limited liability—will provide all of the technical services necessary for the preparation of building projects in the area of civil engineering in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, as well as abroad.

'First 149' Romanian Refugees Arrive in Mimon

LD2508010890 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Mimon, North Bohemia, Aug 24 (CTK)—The first 149 Romanians, including 43 children, arrived today in Jablonecek near here to be temporarily accomodated in the village. They are some of several hundred Romanian refugees who have stayed in Czechoslovakia after being unable to enter Germany.

Although protests had taken place before they appeared in this area, where Soviet troops had been stationed for 22 years, today's arrival was peaceful on both sides.

The Red Cross, organizing the stay, said that a bus will be available to take any Romanian refugees wishing to leave Czechoslovakia to the Hungarian border.

Another group of Romanians is to arrive in Jablonecek tomorrow.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

***Notice to Readers:** In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Iraqi Ambassador To Receive Official Protest

LD2708213290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1932 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has, once again, protested "most sharply" against the "unbridled violation" of the norms of international law by Iraq in connection with the military occupation and annexation of Kuwait. At the same time, the government has called for all those people who have found refuge in the GDR Embassy in Kuwait to be able to leave the country "immediately." In addition to the ambassador and his wife, there are 16 federal citizens in the mission, including two children.

A note handed over by State Secretary Dr. Frank Tiesler this evening to the Iraqi ambassador, who had been summoned to the GDR Foreign Ministry in Berlin, "strongly" calls on Iraq to guarantee the safety of all persons present in the GDR Embassy.

It emerges from an announcement made by the Foreign Ministry in which Tiesler affirmed that the GDR, in line with the EC states, is maintaining its diplomatic mission in Kuwait. The expectation is expressed that Iraq "immediately" meet its obligations under international law, consistently respect the immunity of the GDR Embassy in Kuwait, and that the ambassador be given the opportunity once again to fulfill his office unhindered.

The permanent representative of the GDR at the United Nations in New York has been instructed to explain the principled position of the GDR to the UN secretary general and to the president of the UN Security Council. The Security Council must take suitable measures to insure the safety of those citizens—including diplomatic personnel, whom the Iraqis want to force out of Kuwait.

Citizens Protest Continued Soviet Aircraft Noise

LD2708203290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Neuruppin (ADN)—Nine tents have been set up today in the approaches to the Soviet military airfield in Neuruppin (Potsdam area) in a protest by citizens against continuing aircraft noise. Because the tank division began withdrawing from the garrison town last week, and the air forces are to following in the spring, the local people have less and less understanding for the constant imposition.

The protest is necessary, said Helmut Kolar from the initiative "Against Aircraft Noise," because the call for the closure of the airfield has not been fulfilled. He stressed the peaceful nature of the vigil, which is not directed against Soviet citizens. [passage omitted]

Former Leaders Reportedly Knew of Stasi Crimes

AU2708104590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 20 Aug 90 pp 64-68

[Unattributed report: "We Will Find You Anywhere"]

[Excerpts] GDR Premier Willi Stoph, today 76, was firmly determined to prevent a planned capital crime by his Ministry of State Security (MfS). Because, however, he did not trust his own comrades, he decided to conspire with the West.

Through a courier, Stoph had an urgent request sent to the then state secretary in the Bonn Ministry of Inner-German Relations, Dietrich Spangenberg: The authorities should provide as much protection as possible to GDR refugee Werner Weinhold. An MfS killer commando unit is under way to kill the former soldier of the National People's Army [NVA] on FRG territory.

Stoph, secret opponent of then SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] General Secretary Erich Honecker, provided even more details: Weinhold, today 41, who shot NVA soldiers Juergen Lange, 20, and Klaus-Peter Seidel, 21, when he escaped from the GDR in 1975, was supposed to die in a "staged accident," according to the Stasi [State Security Service] plan. With the murder, the MfS intended to deter potential defectors from the ranks of the border troops.

Stoph's confidential message proves that the former GDR leadership knew about planned capital crimes by the Stasi. The contents of his warning, which was supplemented last week with new details by reports of the FRG Intelligence Service (BND), confirmed the suspicion of FRG counterintelligence that, even in times of detente, Erich Mielke's Stasi people maintained the entire arsenal of intelligence service madness: hired assassins, experts for accidents, poisoners, and kidnappers.

Until very recently, GDR refugees who had done particular harm to the GDR received murder threats. As late as 1988—about one year before the change—the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution analyzed the danger to these people in an internal memo:

"Threats have become known in many cases. Warnings of a fatal traffic accident were used frequently. Often it was said: 'We will find you anywhere.'"

Such announcements were supposed to intimidate, above all, political refugees, defectors from the NVA or the MfS, and defected SED functionaries; they were supposed to spread the feeling that the long arms of the Stasi octopus reached everywhere.

At the top of the death list was Stasi First Lieutenant Werner Stiller, who had defected to the West in 1979, and who had paralyzed large parts of GDR espionage with his comprehensive statements. After his escape, a secret GDR court sentenced Stiller, who disappeared somewhere with a new identity, in absentia to death; 1 million GDR marks [M] were offered for his arrest. Hesse's supreme constitutional protector Guenther Scheicher says: "Until very recently, had they had found Stiller, they would have shot him."

A former Stasi colonel remembers that at a meeting of leaders in the MfS, Mielke suddenly reproached his people in the middle of one of his feared monologues: "Things have quieted down around Stiller."

Bounty money amounting to M1 million was also put up for Weinhold, who had been public enemy number one for years in GDR propaganda. In 1976, the former NVA soldier was acquitted by the Essen court of double manslaughter, because he acted in self-defense when he shot the two GDR border guards.

Only after the Federal Court of Justice vetoed the decision and a new trial was held at the Hagen court, was Weinhold sentenced to five-and-a-half years in prison in 1978, two-thirds of which he had to serve—he was released in 1982.

The originators of the shoot order persecuted him with particular hatred, even in prison. The GDR story was that he shot his two comrades "in the back." A former fellow prisoner says that in 1981 Weinhold was supposed to be kidnapped from the prison cell in Attendorn in the Sauerland region by the Stasi. The witness stated that he had been asked to come to the GDR mission in Bonn, and was requested to help in the act. The man, however, reported to the FRG authorities.

Stasi defectors, who have revealed their knowledge to the BND since the change, also report that Mielke's agents were equipped with a "license to kill"—like the movie hero, James Bond. The new accusations broke—on purpose—right in the middle of the domestic debate about future exemption from punishment for all Stasi employees who were not involved in crimes. [passage omitted]

According to BND findings, the Stasi Main Department I—Counterintelligence Department—was responsible for "wet work," as assassinations were called in the Eastern intelligence service jargon. Since the 1960's the BND has had "vague information" about lethal agent games. According to this information, a whole "range" of possibilities existed for "violent measures, up to murder":

"Use of 'stimulants' prepared with poison, such as cigarettes; use of contact poison; technical manipulation of vehicles; staged suicides; kidnappings; putting up of bounty money."

Kidnapping, for instance, was one of the traditional methods of the KGB and the Stasi. Between 1945 and 1949 alone, about 600 persons were kidnapped from West Berlin to the East, initially by the Soviets. Afterward, there were another 295 kidnappings, and 81 attempted kidnappings—most under the guidance of the then Stasi Department 21 "Security Checks and Repatriation," headquartered in Berlin-Johannisthal, Gross-Berliner Damm 101.

According to new BND findings, Minister Mielke, and Lieutenant General and Deputy Minister Gerhard Neiber and his subordinates, were directly responsible for later assassination plans and kidnappings. The BND report states: "The plans for the respective assassinations were drawn up in only one copy, and were handwritten and personally signed by Minister Mielke or his deputy, General Neiber."

Last week, Neiber did not want to comment on his matter to DER SPIEGEL. Talking to confidants, he complained: "How can one get away from something like this. Why should I now say that I did not do this, that I did not know this?"

Ex-Stasi Members Reportedly Regrouping

AU2808111390 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Aug 90 pp 68-69

[Unattributed report: "They Are Just Waiting for a Signal"]

[Text] For the meeting the DER SPIEGEL reporter is ordered—secretly, of course—to come to a deserted suburban parking site. The trip in the Trabant car ends a few kilometers further down the river, in the impassable area of a deserted glacial valley.

"Here we are undisturbed," the former special operations officer (OibE) [Offiziere im besonderen Einsatz] whispers, who had listened, spied, and worked on files for the Stasi [State Security Service] for more than 25 years. Now the ex-major, who inconspicuously works in public service in a GDR bezirk administration, fears—more than his being uncovered—that old comrades are turning their attention on him.

"There are former colleagues who are again establishing contacts out of frustration or fear of the future." The intelligence service professional knows: "They all learned how to do conspiratorial work, and they can easily meet inconspicuously to work out something."

What is being worked out in detail can be found out only with great difficulty. It is a fact, however, as people who know the Stasi know, that all over the country between the Baltic Sea and the Erzgebirge mountain range former employees of the "company" have recently started to work more intensively in secrecy.

Former Stasi officers and people involved in dissolving the Stasi confirm that information networks are being established and secret meetings are being held in safe houses and in places which have not yet been discovered. In enterprises and in public service, new groups of old comrades are developing, who are giving each other posts and political positions. And secretly some members of the infamous troop are working out plans for how they can take revenge or regain power.

In Jena, for instance, about 10 ex-Stasi men, who internally call themselves "The Patriots," meet in different bars three to four times a month. Occasionally, they sit in the garden restaurant "Schweizer Hoehe" on the outskirts of the town; there they meet under the leadership of the former Stasi Kreis Chief Harald Schleitzer in a room on the door of which there is a plaque saying "private company."

Several members of the local citizens committee claim to have caught former Colonel Schleitzer tailing former "target persons" of the Stasi on foot and in his private Lada.

People involved in dissolving the Stasi in Erfurt complain that bags with documents were stolen from cars that were broken into in broad daylight. Break-ins and searches of apartments, which have not been cleared up, the illegal destruction of Stasi files over the past days, and mysterious car accidents in the past few weeks give investigators reason for the growing suspicion that several sections of the "company" are working again. "We destroyed the power of the Stasi only in the visible areas," Erfurt civil rights activist Kerstin Schoen says. Stasi insiders are sure that former members of the Main Department XXII (combat against terrorism) have acquired weapons; ex-Stasi officers report on former generals who are hiding in safe houses and have not yet been discovered. Referring to information from Western intelligence services, the U.S. news magazine TIME reported [No. 33/13 August 1990] on the continued existence of "Stasi cells" and referred to them with the German term "Kameradenkreise" [circles of comrades]. According to TIME, these circles are hoping for a change in the political climate soon in order to "come in from the cold."

At the moment, "new contacts and links between former Stasi members are developing," warns Rosemarie Fuchs, who has been engaged full-time in dissolving the Stasi in the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk for months and has been a member of the all-German FDP [Free Democratic Party] Executive Committee since mid-August. As far as she knows, many conspirators have "the goal to act under certain circumstances," for instance against the citizens committees or against those politicians whom they blame for destroying the Stalinist system of supervision. "There are some Stasi people who are just waiting for a signal," Rosemarie Fuchs says worriedly.

Some sort of Stasi in the underground was already accurately planned during the first months after the changes. Thus, at the end of January the leadership of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration (HVA), for instance, recalled its bezirk chiefs to the headquarters in East Berlin "to discuss preparatory steps for the founding of companies," as one participant said. These companies were supposed to accommodate money from the MfS [Ministry of State Security] secret funds and material assets, such as computers and copying machines.

The office also pursued another purpose with the founding of these secret service companies, which were supposed to be managed by "suitable unofficial Stasi employees as managers": "Establishment of an illegal network in the case of the GDR's rapid collapse and its annexation under purely capitalist signs."

Even though then HVA chief, Colonel General Werner Grossmann, denies such plans in an interview with DER SPIEGEL, a former subordinate reports on further details of the secret conference in which Grossmann did not participate. According to him, the fictitious companies were supposed to serve a then planned "SED/PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany/Party of Democratic Socialism] underground line" or to be "linked to the network of the Soviet intelligence service KGB as a base."

In fact, "substructures of the former MfS" developed "in the economy," according to someone responsible for dissolving the Stasi in East Berlin, for instance by "taking technical installations out of company groups" and "making them economically independent." Thus, scientific instrument construction companies, guard companies, as well as leasing companies developed, which are now engaging "in lively trade on a commission basis with state property."

In Gera, former employees of the MfS bezirk administration intelligence department founded an "Engel and Company GmbH Communication Service" company. The ten people took over the building of the intelligence complex of the bezirk administration, which had been completed in January. So far, not even the working staff for dissolving the Stasi has received any clarification of the company's purpose.

The former Stasi kreis leader in Stadtroda bought a bunker system of the National People's Army and established a "drinking base" there. The ex-officer refuses to let the local citizens committee, which is still looking for secret Stasi bunkers in the kreis, enter his bulwark.

In mid-August the former Stasi company Interport in East Berlin was searched, which had acquired high-quality electronics from the West for the MfS until last December. The former director of Interport now signs as "head of trade transport"—a former Stasi lieutenant colonel.

It cannot be proved that these companies are also secretly trading information. It is certain, however, that the Soviet intelligence service, with which the Stasi had been linked for decades, is now increasing its own network of agents in East and West Germany. Thus, undiscovered Stasi people are just what the KGB needs.

In addition, it is helpful to the KGB that by far not all files on Stasi employees have ended up in the shredder or with the committees responsible for Stasi dissolution. Amid the confusion after the change, Stasi officers delivered many documents, lists of agents, and entire files of employees to the KGB residencies.

"The Russians were extremely eager for the lists," an FRG constitutional protector says, "so that they could use the agents for themselves in the future—these people can be easily blackmailed."

Some ex-spies of the Stasi have already been contacted by the KGB. "This is an enormous danger," an ex-OibE says worriedly: "Many former colleagues, who do not see any future for themselves anymore, are receptive to the KGB."

"They can put us under enormous pressure," a former major of the Stasi espionage service says, "to force us to cooperate." The former controller of agents in the FRG, who is now working in the GDR branch of an FRG company, intends to "immediately step on the emergency brake" if he is contacted by the KGB. "I do not want to have anything to do with them," the espionage expert says, "but I cannot do this alone. If they come to me, I will go to the FRG Intelligence Service.

Diestel Denies Barschel-Stasi Murder Link

AU2808123890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 28 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Interior Minister Diestel has stressed that there is "not the slightest clue" about any involvement of the former Ministry of State Security (MfS) in the death of Uwe Barschel [minister president of Schleswig-Holstein, found dead in Geneva on 11 October 1987]. Mrs. Freya Barschel had sent a letter to Diestel, giving rise to speculations to this effect. Interior Minister Diestel told DIE WELT yesterday that "hysteria" has developed in the FRG, claiming that the Stasi [State Security Service] is responsible for everything. This also includes blaming the "disgusting problems" of the Barschel case on the Stasi. If this continues, Diestel added ironically, one day the MfS will be "blamed for the outbreak of World War II."

The Luebeck Public Prosecutor's Office also stressed that the files do not give any clue to any involvement of the Stasi in Barschel's death.

Honecker Not To Be Tried Prior to Unification

AU2708192090 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 26 Aug 90 p 4

["(BOE/FRA)"—signed report: "Honecker Not To Be Tried in GDR"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, the former chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], 78, will not be tried as long as the GDR exists. Guenter Seidel, 49, GDR acting public prosecutor, told BILD AM SONNTAG that if Honecker is put on trial in the united Germany, he will only have to stand trial for offenses against property. "We have proved objectively that he squandered 62.5 million marks for the privileged supply of Wandlitz (ghetto of former prominent SED members) with goods."

Investigations on him are continuing because of the shooting order and for allowing terrorists to enter the GDR. The prosecutors, however, have not proceeded to the point of putting Honecker on trial for these charges. Nor does State Security Minister Erich Mielke have to appear before court for the time being. In his recent interrogation, he just stammered: "I am finished. I am a dead man."

At present, 77 proceedings are underway because of 194 fatal shots at the Berlin Wall and the former intra-German border, Seidel told BILD AM SONNTAG. These investigations are "extremely difficult," because immediately following the deadly shots, the murderers at the Wall were transferred to other posts and the files were destroyed, Seidel said.

President Goncz Receives Kuwaiti Amir's Envoy

LD2708153890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] President Arpad Goncz has met with the personal envoy of the Kuwaiti amir in the parliament building. (Sahad al-Hassawi) conveyed the thanks of his government for the consistent policy that Hungary has conducted since the beginning of the Iraqi aggression. President Goncz explained in detail our country's position on the Gulf crisis, and he affirmed that we do not accept Kuwait's annexation. Another indication of this is that we are ready to make direct contact, on the territory of even a third country, with the exiled Kuwaiti leadership.

Romanian Ambassador Summoned to Foreign Ministry

LD2408201490 Budapest MTI in English 1804 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—Denes Tomaj, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned Romanian Ambassador Simion Popo to the Foreign Ministry on Friday to inform him of the Hungarian Government's deep concern regarding the intention of certain hard-line Romanian groups to use the 50th anniversary of the second Vienna decision to organize militant anti- Hungarian acts.

He also revealed the Hungarian Government's anticipation that the Romanian Government would take firm and decisive steps to prevent the planned extremist manifestations, and guarantee the security of rights, property and life to the Hungarian community in Romania. He stressed that, should the activities of such chauvinistic organisations be allowed to go ahead, the Romanian Government would be responsible for any adverse consequences. Mr Tomaj handed over the related declaration of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

RMDSZ General Secretary Szocs on Romania

AU2708171490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 90 p 6

[Report on interview with the general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, Geza Scocs, by Jozsef Gyorgy Farkas in Artand on 18 August: "Our Main Interest Lies in Democracy."]

[Excerpts] Geza Szocs was elected general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ) in April 1990, at the age of 37. A famous author and journalist, Szocs was also the editor of one of the most significant Romanian samizdat publications at the beginning of the 1980's. He was imprisoned by the Ceausescu regime in 1982 and left prison with severe injuries. He emigrated in 1986, due to the Securitate's continuous harassment, but he continued his fight against the dictatorship. In the summer of April 1988, he became head of Radio Free Europe's offices in Budapest, but in March 1990, he gave up his comfortable position, returned home, and became involved in the political life of Hungarians in Romania. On the occasion of the European Day celebrations in Artand, Geza Szocs gave our newspaper an interview.

[Farkas] An overwhelming majority of RMDSZ voters are Hungarian. Are there any others?

[Szocs] It is quite evident that a great number of Hungarians voted for the RMDSZ at the elections. This fact, however, must not be mystified. According to estimates based on the comparison between voters' lists and election results, around 15 to 20 percent of Hungarians did not vote for the RMDSZ, but for the National Salvation Front. Nevertheless, apart from a few exceptions, those who voted for the RMDSZ were Hungarians. Interestingly enough, in Bucharest— which we thought had the largest concentration of Hungarians the other side of the Carpathians— we only received about 3000 votes. On the other hand, we did receive a few hundred votes in purely Romanian counties. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] Does the RMDSZ have any allies in Romanian political circles?

[Szocs] We really have very few political allies which can be considered as long-term. We do have some followers among the Romanian intelligentsia (among the technocrats, for example, but they are not very prominent in Romania yet.) We have no lasting allies or partners in parliament.

[Farkas] Are there sometimes temporary allegiances?

[Szocs] That can happen, of course. There are several issues on which we will vote together with some party or other, but that does not represent a long-standing alliance. [passage omitted]

There is another reason why we have no stable coalition partner in Romania today: Most political formations are extremely unstable, they are forever being dissolved and then reformed. The RMDSZ, on the other hand, is the most stable organization in Romania today. Our party would, of course, be interested in cooperating with partners who have discovered their identity and are intent on keeping it. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] What do you mean when you say that many people turned Vatra Romanesca into a bogeyman?

[Szocs] Vatra Romanesca, itself, made the mistake of artificially multiplying its numbers. In its propaganda, it spoke of millions of supporters; as it turned out during the elections and at post-election Vatra gatherings, this was a completely fictitious number. We believed them, however, because we were naive and inexperienced. Indeed, even some Romanian spheres of authority believed them, because it looked as though Vatra had considerable influence. Nowadays it has become clear that Vatra Romanesca's importance was exaggerated, and I think this will lead to a drop in its influence.

[Farkas] A new grouping is currently testing its wings—namely the Anti-Totalitarian Democratic Forum, founded recently in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. Could you tell us some more about it?

[Szocs] The RMDSZ supports all initiatives which strive for the democratization of everyday conditions in Romania. It supports these initiatives spontaneously, through the participation of its members, and it supports them politically, too.

[Farkas] Does a formation like the Anti-Totalitarian Democratic Forum—based on the cooperation between nations and national minorities—have a future in Romania? Could the organization become stronger, or will nationalism defeat it? Will the tendencies that aim to prevent cooperation have the upper hand?

[Szocs] I do not think nationalism is stronger. I would say instead that democratic forces are still weak here! [passage omitted]

In the elections, we found out what percentage of the Romanian population really wanted true parliamentary democracy and a constitutional state—in the Western sense of these words. From the elections, we may conclude that a few years have to pass before society becomes used to the idea of democracy, we have to wait for the generations that hold Romania's future in their hands to grow stronger. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] What can we, as Hungarians, do? How can we help without damaging your position and credibility?

[Szocs] We have repeatedly answered that question. Hungary has to gain economic, cultural, and moral strength. If it becomes a key nation in Central Europe, a great power on a moral level, then it can spread values to other neighboring communities which would stabilize the entire region, and bring this area closer to Western Europe.

Minister on Minority Relations, Vienna Treaty

AU2708105790 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)— The Hungarian Foreign Ministry issued the following statement to MTI today:

News is filtering through from Romania that certain extremist groups are preparing to use the 50th anniversary of the 2nd Vienna Decision, signed on August 30, 1940, for staging militant demonstrations, mainly in the Hungarian-inhabited regions of Transylvania.

The Hungarian Government and the whole of Hungarian society believe that historic events should be judged as separate entities, distinct from matters of day-to-day politics. It is particularly undesirable for the relations between the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe to be burdened by sociological and attention-seeking polemic. The Government of the Republic of Hungary hopes that a similar stance will be taken in Romania, with the various parties and organizations refraining from actions that might disrupt the peace existing between our nations, and jeopardize the accomplishment of the difficult historic tasks lying ahead of us.

The totally unfounded allegation that Hungary is agitating for a change of the present European frontiers has been repeatedly voiced abroad recently. The statement of the freely-elected Hungarian parliament concerning the Trianon peace treaty, signed on June 4, 1920, also runs contrary to such rumors.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry—in line with relevant parliamentary decisions and previous government statements—reiterates that Hungary is observing the valid international agreements, and has no intention of forcibly changing borders, so endangering the security of its neighbors.

Nobody has cause or legal grounds to interpret the responsibility felt for those Hungarians turned into minorities— as a result of the hostile 1920 and 1947 peace treaties— as a sign of hostility. Hungary does everything it can to meet the requirements of the ethnic minorities living in its former territory. At the same time, it in no way objects to the efforts of its neighboring countries to support the political and cultural endeavours of the Hungarian minorities, indeed, it urges them to do so.

To recapitulate, the Republic of Hungary strives for decent and friendly relations with all its neighbours, as a way of promoting the integration of newly democratized countries into a single Europe that espouses common values.

Withdrawal of USSR Tank Division Completed

LD2708220690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Today in Esztergom, Major-General Burlakov bade farewell to the last Soviet soldier. Thus, of the three divisions in Hungary, only two remain. Julia Torda reports.

[Torda] Thank you for your service; all the best, my dear friends. These were the words with which Maj. Gen. Burlakov bade farewell to more than 100 privates and officers who boarded the train in Esztergom today. With this, the main force of the Soviet Southern Army Group stationed in Hungary—the approximately 10,000-strong Budapest tank division—left Hungary permanently this afernoon. With their withdrawal, altogether 35 percent of the Soviet soldiers in Hungary, and around one-third of its technical and material appliances have left our country's territory. [passage omitted]

The rifle division in Szekesfehervar, still stationed in Hungary, will commence moving out next Sunday; this will last until the end of the year. Following this, the withdrawal of the infantry division in Kecskemet will commence. This will be completed up to the expiry of the time limit of 30 June next year. [passage omitted]

Ministry Denies Knowledge of Soviet Trade Plans

LD2408122390 Budapest MTI in English 1039 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 24, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations [MIER] has no knowledge of Soviet initiatives of an economic nature, MTI-ECONEWS learned on Friday.

Soviet Foreign Affairs spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh yesterday expressed displeasure concerning Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's statement in a St Stephen's Day (August 20) speech, which he considered derogatory to the Soviet Union. Mr Gremitskikh said that the statements had been made precisely at a time when "thanks to the initiatives by the Soviet Union, obstacles have been removed from the path of the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations". This was the first rebuke so far from the Soviet Government to Hungary.

Mr Laszlo Timar, a MIER director, said he had no knowledge of any initiatives, at least not affecting the economic sphere.

Mr Yuriy Tshugunov, trade representative of the Soviet Union in Budapest, confirmed to MTI-ECONEWS that up to now, he had no information of any new economic initiatives from Moscow. He said a big step had already been taken when the two countries agreed to switch over to dollar accounting from January 1 next year and added that the next round of talks on the problems connected with the change will take place in Moscow in September.

Simultaneously with the switch-over, Hungarian current account surplus of 792 million roubles outstanding from last year, along with this year's anticipated 100 million roubles surplus, will be converted into a dollar-debt of the Soviet Union.

No agreement has yet been reached on other important questions affecting next year's trade, Mr Timar added. It remains to be seen how Hungary will cope with the anticipated 1-1.5 billion USD [U.S. dollar] deficit in bilateral trade next year as a result of the deterioration of terms of trade, connected with the switch-over.

In order to partially ease the degree of the deterioration of the terms of trade, Hungary requested preferential prices for agricultural and food exports next year, as well as loans at preferential terms. The initial reaction of the Soviet Union to these requests was not favourable.

Currently, both sides are working on "shopping lists" which contain the articles both sides definitely want to export and import next year. Unlike the previous interstate agreements, these lists will have no binding force on either side. They will simply act as guidelines to companies when making contracts and to state agencies when issuing export and import licences.

Hungary has put 6.48 million tonnes of oil on its shopping list, but the Soviets seem to be willing to supply only 4 million tonnes. It seems likely, however, that the Hungarian order for natural gas will be met in full. The parties are continuing to compare notes on further exports and imports.

Mr Timar understands that although Hungarian companies are at present meeting their export contracts with Soviet parties, there may be hitches in several areas of imports in the latter part of the year. Soviet suppliers have already notified Hungarian partners that, because of domestic problems, they will not be able to deliver in full the contracted quantities of oil, cellulose, cotton and paper.

Jeszenszky Holds Talks With Ukrainian Counterpart

LD2708225690 Budapest MTI in English 2150 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky held talks with Ukranian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko in Budapest on August 24.

A joint communique issued on their talks was forwarded to MTI on Monday.

The communique stated that the sides were pleased to note that the over one thousand-year-old relationship between the two countries had not been dimmed over the course of time.

The talks focused on the establishment and development of bilateral links, as well as dealing with questions of international cooperation.

The sides said they were interested in establishing and developing good neighbourly relations and as well as the creation and development of mutually advantageous ventures between the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Hungarian Republic.

In the course of the talks, views were exchanged on the possible future relations betwen Ukraine and Hungary, including the possibility of setting up diplomatic, consular or trade representations.

The ministers spoke of the bilateral interest in maintaining trade and economic, technical and scientific, as well as other contacts, and expressed a readiness to place these on new foundations. The sides also agreed to continue the discussion of these questions.

The sides agreed to create favorable conditions for encouraging direct links between Ukrainian and Hungarian citizens, and to do their utmost to develop the simplified form of border crossing and anull the measure that had recently suspended this simple form of travel.

They also pledged to provide the public with authentic information on the processes taking place in the two republics.

The sides agreed that the nationalities living in the two republics must play a positive role if the two peoples are to come together.

In the course of discussing questions dealing with international cooperation, the Ukrainian side said that the Ukraine had made efforts to become an equal participant in all-European processes and European structures, as well as the activity of the Budapest-based Duna Commission. The Hungarian side sympathetically acknowledged this.

The ministers agreed to resume discussion at the 45th session of the UN General Assembly.

Mr Zlenko invited his Hungarian counterpart to a visit to Kiev.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister on Independent Policy

LD2508105390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by correspondent Jozsef Havel in Budapest; date not given; Zlenko remarks in Ukrainian with superimposed summary by Havel—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Havel] Through your visit, we can observe the sign of an independent Ukraine foreign policy.

[Zlenko] I would like to say that, in the foreign policy part of the Ukraine declaration of independence, we have unambiguously specified the ways in which the Ukrainian foreign policy must be materialized. The Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic builds direct links with other states, concludes agreements with them, opens diplomatic, consular, and trade missions, and participates in the work of international organizations to the degree needed by the dictates of national interests. [passage omitted]

[Havel] It is well known that many Magyars live in the Ukraine. What is the situation regarding small border traffic?

[Zlenko] We have discussed the large number of those crossing the border with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and State Secretary Mr Katona. There is agreement in that in the issues of small border traffic, a mutually acceptable solution must be found as soon as possible.

[Havel] What can you say regarding the Hungarian Consulate in Uzhgorod?

[Zlenko] This issue, too, has been raised. The Hungarian side proposed to the Ukraine to open a chief consulate in Nyiregyhaza, while Hungary should open a chief consulate in Uzhgorod. This question is being studied, and we hope that the judgment on it will be favorable soon. We understand your intention to open a chief consulate in Uzhgorod; we will be thinking about the way in which we can meet the proposal half way.

Cooperation Agreement Reached With Switzerland

LD2708200490 Budapest MTI in English 1604 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—Geza Jeszenszky and Rene Felber, Hungarian and Swiss ministers of foreign affairs, signed a letter of intent in Budapest on Monday providing for cooperation between their respective governments.

The letter of intent is aimed at reinforcing the current process of political and economic change in Hungary and the resulting political, economic and social consequences evolving from such an upheaval. It involves the organization of study courses and trips to help Hungarian specialists acquire experience concerning the Swiss state structures, the life of local communities and ethnic minorities, administration and legislation.

Cooperation will extend to the areas of culture and science, specialist training and environmental protection. The two governments will support links between Hungarian and Swiss artists and private cultural circles, as well as the exchange of scientists.

In order to protect and provide for a healthier Hungarian environment related authorities will also give help in training experts in the treatment of special wastes.

The letter of intent will expire on December 31, 1992.

PRC's Tian Zengpei Visits, Meets Jeszenszky

LD2608182690 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei visited Budapest at the invitation of Denes Tomaj, the deputy secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry.

In the framework of the agreement between the Foreign Ministries of the Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of China, Tian Zengpei held consultations with his host.

The Chinese deputy foreign minister met Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, and Janos Martonyi, administrative secretary of state at the Ministry of International Economic Relations.

Tian Zengpei left Hungary on Sunday.

Prime Minister Antall on German Issues

AU2408180790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Hanna Szalay; place and date not given: "Liberal Christian Democracy—With a National Commitment"]

[Text] Jozsef Antall suggested setting up a joint FRG-GDR-Hungarian committee—at an under secretary of state level—in order to investigate various mechanisms which would correct the losses Hungary will incur in its trade with the German Democratic Republic. In his exclusive interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP, Antall said that the establishment of a compensatory fund might be a solution; he also took this occasion to refute the allegations made about his person in the editorial entitled "Antall" that appeared on page 5 of our 21 August edition, and expressed his views about modern-day Christian democracy. "The government's line of conduct clearly represents a liberal Christian Democratic orientation with a national commitment; I personally believe in taking on the notions of a liberal constitutional state and of a social state together, thus forming a balance," Jozsef Antall stated, among other things.

[Szalay] Prime Minister, when you met with GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere in Sopron, a rumor was started saying that you had suggested a three-party summit—for the GDR, the FRG and Hungary—in order to try to solve Hungarian-GDR trade and economic cooperation problems. In concrete terms, what solutions do you have in mind, and when do you plan to hold this summit?

[Antall] That was not exactly what I suggested. German unification certainly represents an advantage for Hungary in the long run; a united Germany will offer the opportunities of a good market and close cooperation. Even in the past, the two Germanies represented our second and third trade partners. A united Germany will definitely be Hungary's number one economic partner.

This relationship should be placed on broader foundations. Consequently, we would also like to emphasize our links with France, Britain, and Italy. We do not wish to forsake Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, either, but maintaining relations with the latter is not entirely up to us.

In the short run, however, it seems probable that the cancellation of exports to the GDR—as a result of the dissolution of cooperative measures adjusted to GDR requirements—will give rise to a 500 million- to 800 million- Deutsche mark loss to the Hungarian economy.

The Germans expressed their gratitude for the steps Hungary took in order to further the unification process, but I had to remark that, despite this message of appreciation, Hungary had been left at a disadvantage. The Germans stated that they saw the cooperation measures as valid, and these measures are defined by civil law; therefore, we have to act if the measures are not enforced for any reason. Indeed, due to its own disastrous economic situation and its inherited bankruptcy—at a time when the country is making its first changes and the Soviet and CEMA markets have technically collapsed—Hungary is not in a position to endure the disadvantages caused by German unification as well. That is why I think this question has to be dealt with now.

German Reunification—a Challenge

Lothar de Maiziere informed us about the GDR's economic difficulties and it became clear that the GDR cannot solve its emerging problems alone. I then suggested we should form a three-party working group. I imagine this would function optimally at an under secretary of state level. When the negotiations at this under secretary of state level reach the limits of a certain stage, then we could possibly look for solutions at a higher level. Before that, however, we definitely need an expert investigation into the issue. At the moment, we are drawing up the list of products and agreements which are problematic. Given that I have good personal relationships with both German heads of government, I thought I should use these advantages to further our efforts in this field. The task will not be easy; I know, for example, that negotiations dealing with similar Czechoslovak-GDR problems have broken down.

[Szalay] Does the Hungarian Government have any concrete proposals for a solution?

[Antall] We may have several proposals. For example, a united Germany— or, until the unification, the FRG and the GDR—could examine, once again, whether it perhaps would be possible to go through with the deliveries stipulated in our cooperative measures. A second idea would be the possibility of compensation, which is also a very important issue. At this point, I would like to remind you that I also broached the subject of a compensatory fund with Jacques Delors and "Foreign Affairs Commissioner" Andriessen of the EEC, and they listened carefully to my proposals. Given their present economic situation, the former CEMA states are unable to combat the consequences of the collapse of CEMA, of the narrowing of the Soviet market, and the repercussions of certain steps taken by the Soviet Union. That is why it would be necessary to establish a compensatory fund in the EEC. In other words, as far as the Germans are concerned, the second solution would be to set up a compensatory fund, either bilaterally, or within the framework of the EEC.

[Szalay] In other words, if you are unable to solve this problem, our present economic relations with the GDR will collapse?

[Antall] Even if our relations with the GDR do not collapse, the mere fact that the GDR and the FRG are being united means that the GDR will become part of the EEC; our export-import regulations will consequently have to be altered, and, for example, Hungarian wine exports to the GDR will cease to exist in their present form.

The change in the situation of the GDR also gives us new obligations—which is not a bad thing—and it forces us to offer the best of everything in our exports. This is a very big challenge for us. In the short term, however, the ensuing situation has to be solved, because we have nothing to compensate for our shortfall. And I repeat: Those are valid cooperation measures.

[Szalay] Do you believe that Chancellor Kohl and Lothar de Maiziere will grant you this gesture on an ideological basis? They are both Christian Democrats and you partly belong to that political trend too.

[Antall] I would not say on an ideological basis, but of course, good relations ease the understanding between us. Nevertheless, trade relations are always the fruit of tough negotiations between governments. That is the way it works in Europe; this is also the case outside Europe. While we are on the subject of Europe, I would like to add a few comments to a MAGYAR HIRLAP article signed by Gyula Hegyi, which indicated that I had some kind of an old-fashioned notion of Europe, and that the kind of Christian Europe I talk about no longer exists. Furthermore, the article said that I should accept the fact that the Europe of today is a secular-liberal Europe, and that everything national is very alien to Western Europe these days. It goes as far as to say that religious and national ideologies can be witnessed in Iraq and Iran—not in Western Europe—and it is up to us which model we choose to follow. These statements are misplaced, to say the least. However much I may respect Gyula Hegyi's knowledgeability about Western Europe, I do not think that he is far better informed than me about the Western European political situation, and therefore, his statements are unjustified.

Christian Europe—a United Europe

First, when I talk about a Christian Europe, I am referring not only to our historical heritage, but also to the three Christian Democratic politicians who lay the foundations for a united Europe after World War II: De Gasperi, Adenauer, and Robert Schumann. In other words, the Christian Democratic movement emerging after the World War II played a significant role in bringing about the united Europe of today. Furthermore, I am convinced that the inherent integration efforts of Christian democracy played an important part in this. These efforts—after World War II—marked the difference between the orientation of the new Christian Democrats and their predecessors, in that the new Christian Democrats adopted a liberal element. That was the big difference.

Christian democracy today is neither a Christian Socialist trend, nor some Christian political trend along the old lines. (People usually refer to dogmatic Christianity here.) On the contrary, as it was at the emergence of Christian Democrats after World War II, so it is today: Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe do not see themselves as ideological parties. Apart from their Christian aspect, they also have a liberal element, and they take on the idea of a liberal constitutional state as well as a social element, of course. The most prominent figure in this trend was Ludwig Erhard, who put liberal Christian democracy into exact practice by creating a social market economy.

[Szallay] So, do you consider not only Christian Democratic, but also liberal and social values as your own?

[Antall] Yes, but we are not merely talking about me here; we are dealing with the political trends that we represent, and that the government represents. These are not ideological, but political issues. The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], for example, is a party with a political platform, not an ideological party. The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] sees itself as an ideological party, but the West German CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] no longer sees itself that way, nor does the Dutch Christian Democratic Party.

One thing is certain: The policy of the government coalition and the government is clearly liberal Christian Democratic, with a national commitment. I would like to come back to that, too. If we are talking about me now, I can tell you that I wrote a series of articles for MAGYAR NEMZET about liberal values, the liberal constitutional state, and the history of liberalism at a time when it was not fashionable to deal with such issues. Throughout my career as a historian, I dealt with the history of liberalism, and I wrote about the values of liberalism. Incidentally, I wrote about the same thing in two volumes on the history of the press, published by Akademia in 1985. I, therefore, tend to take offense when somebody wants to lecture me on liberalism.

[Szallay] One may want to look into areas where opinions diverge.

[Antall] Yes, but that is not what I deal with. In my work, I stress the values and significance of liberalism. Liberalism, of course, can also have different nuances and trends. On the one hand, liberalism implies a certain behavior; on the other, it means recognizing the importance of individual initiative and taking on individual responsibility. Of course, liberalism also implies a liberal constitutional state. I personally believe the notions of a liberal constitutional state and of a social state should be taken on together, thus forming a balance. I have no desire to hurt Gyula Hegyi, but I think it is foolish to mix religion into this, especially Islam and the fanatics. Religious fanaticism cannot help us establish the kind of Christian Democratic trend that all Hungarian centrist parties today represent.

Neither does national thinking emerge in the form of nationalism. Again and again, we have stated that there is no relation between the two. We live in a country where the fight for independence and the yearning for national autonomy have been fundamental issues for centuries. Furthermore, I can safely say that national issues are far more significant in the whole of Eastern

Europe than in Western Europe, where they either never were a problem, or where the problems have been satisfactorily solved.

National Issues Are Fundamental in Political Thinking

When we speak of national issues in Hungary, we do so because the national identity and national independence of this country have been hurt. National issues and liberalism belong together in Hungary, because with Szechenyi, Kossuth, Deak and Eotvos, it would be difficult to separate liberalism from the national issue. I could, however, also refer to the times of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, during World War II. National issues are, quite simply, fundamental in Hungarian political thinking. Even today, while we discuss the rebirth of the country, national issues are raised. I have always spoken of national thought and national questions within the framework of a united Europe. It is perhaps not too surprising that I was elected vice president of the European Movement, before my office in government. I was the first Hungarian there, and I was probably elected because of my activity in the movement for human rights and in the movement for European unification.

So, the Christian Democratic policy we represent is based on a national and European foundation, and it also contains liberal elements.

It is not true, either, that I never mentioned the fact that the Social Democrats constitute the stronger grouping in the European Parliament. I have even repeatedly said that I thought it was a mistake, that the Social Democratic party had vanished so completely from the Hungarian political scene.

Social Democracy is Lacking

[Szalay] Why do you see that as a mistake?

[Antall] I think it is a mistake because social democracy is strong in Europe, and it is in Hungary's interest to have adequate links with all the major European currents. European social democracy should be able to find its Hungarian counterpart. Social democracy has been unable to reemerge in Hungary, and evidently, that is partly due to inner squabblings; another reason is that, to a certain extent, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) also represented that political trend. Just like the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the MSZP takes away potential social democratic votes and party members. I, therefore, consider the accusation leveled at me as plucked out of thin air and misguided. Because, and I stress this again, my statements will testify to the importance I attach to social democracy in Hungary.

[Szallay] Let us return to the national element. Are you not afraid that by stressing this question too much, you will set free latent hostile feelings toward other nations, or ethnic minorities, and thus give free room for a kind of right-wing extremism?

[Antall] First of all, national issues cannot be compared to any kind of racist tendencies. All the more so, because from the point of view of historical tradition, the national and independent school of thought we adhere to is related to emancipation. If somebody, therefore, uses the term national, and adds European, then adds the principle of equality in the eyes of the law, then adds the idea of a constitutional state,—meaning, that he unequivocally acknowledges the individual human rights of people and the rights of national minorities,—then I hardly need to point out that this has nothing to do with nationalist tendencies which can be termed as right-wing. We have nothing to do with that.

The kind of political thought that we feel we belong to is very appropriate in trying to prevent the formation, in this country, of tendencies that play nationalist tunes and base themselves on nationalist principles; our national, our liberal, and our Christian Democratic principles, as well as our social values, are all appropriate for this purpose. It is also our role to unite those who have national sentiments, and who consider national commitment and national values to be truly modern values at the end of the 20th century— that is how we see those values. When picturing Europe, we see it as essential that no right-wing extremism should emerge in Hungary; if it did, then it should under no circumstances become a significant active factor in our country. I believe that neither right-wing, nor left-wing extremism have a place in Hungary, and they would only do harm to both country and nation. We must all make sure that extremism does not appear on our political scene.

National Assembly Meets in Special Session

LD2708094690 Budapest MTI in English 0855 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly met in special session on Monday, after the summer holiday.

The presiding Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, announced that the government had submitted bills on the defence law amendment, price calculation and the prevention of dishonest market competition.

Szabad told MPs that it was urgent to discuss the draft of the parliamentary resolution concerning the allocation of funds in the lead-up to the 1990 local elections.

Arpad, Goncz, president of the Republic, then took the floor.

Trade Minister Bod Addresses Assembly

LD2808145590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0911 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Speech by Industry and Trade Minister Peter Akos Bod at the National Assembly session, in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The draft bill that was submitted is important to implementing the national renewal program because it aims to soon replace state ownership with private ownership in the retail trade, catering, and consumer services fields. [passage omitted]

The retail trade and catering industry are suited for privatization because these enterprises constitute a legal, and not necessarily an economic, unit. An economic unit is the shop—the business where the work goes on, the maintenance department, the workshop. Thes are small surveyable units for which an entrepreneur or a trader can accept responsibility. The enterprise's success basically depends on the work of the trader. This sector, of course, was considered first during the privatization program's launch, as it is suited for family enterprise and its capital requirement is relatively small.

The government hopes shops and catering firms, which can be easily operated as small undertakings, will switch to private ownership in a regulatable, monitorable manner.

In learning about privatization, many enterprises had—as part of so-called spontaneous privatization—transferred parts of the businesses into economic companies, often well below their value; salvaging assets is also worth mentioning. [passage omitted]

The draft bill, therefore, must deal with this issue, as well as aim to minimize the damage and disadvantages arising from abuses.

The government has published its privatization thesis; the submitted bill coincides with the spirit of this thesis and is regarded as the first phase of the prescribed steps.

There was lively parliamentary debate, and the representational organs also became interested as they became more aware of the draft bill's concepts. I believe they have accepted its main objectives.

There was a lot of debate on detailed issues, part of which I think is based on misunderstanding. I read, for example, that the draft bill is not good because the lord mayor, an MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] man, will show favoritism. The solution prescribed here is the clearest economic techniques: competitive bidding. It was impossible to invent a more monitorable, clearer, and rational solution than this.

The concerns of those who thought the assets agency would nationalize again were also unfounded. I think the draft bill points out that privatization will occur on a business basis and with a very large degree of social publicity. [passage omitted]

The state administration is ready to implement well-prepared, programmed privatization. It is essential that the government spends the profits from privatization on reducing the state debt; thus, these profits cannot represent the cover for the current budgetary expenditures nor will they be turned into self-government or big enterprise incomes. This makes it possible for privatization, even with today's very strict financial policy, to obtain bank-of-issue, concessional, refinancing credit support.

I would now like to draw the attention of the esteemed house to nine points.

The first involves the fact that the draft bill—although the government deeply condemns the previous regime's enforced nationalization system, which caused human tragedies—does not speak of reprivatization but of passing into private hands.

We truly think the former system cannot be restored. A considerable number of nationalized shops have ceased to exist, while others have been rebuilt, modernized, improved, or, unfortunately, worsened. Few shops today exist in their original form—the form they were in when they were taken from their owners—which is why the government offers compensation—wide-scale compensation—for the former owners.

It is not a question of reprivatization as laid out in the draft, although this draft bill gives first refusal to the former owners and traders if they want to engage in enterprise once again.

Second, this draft could include approximately 10,000 units. A significant number of these—2,000 to 3,000, it is difficult to count these today—operate under contract. This is important since the contract lessee—the contract operator—is essentially an enterpreneur today. Among the potential buyers, of course, it was again this stratum—this circle—which came into question first and foremost.

On the other hand, the draft bill also guarantees that the present contract shopkeepers—lessees—will be able to continue working under basically unchanged conditions until their contract expires.

Third, it is a fundamental demand that supply never decline; it should not deteriorate. I think that guaranteeing supply depends not on some kind of intangible principle of supply responsibility, but on competition; on the effectiveness of private ownership. Even so, the draft bill prescribes that in certain spheres—grocery stores, for instance—the entrepreneur or the trader will for a time have to retain the earlier profile. In the end, modern commerce operates well, not through declaring principles of responsibility, but by virtue of the respective entrepreneurs competing and functioning commercially, exercising their own business responsibility.

Fourth, will there be unemployment in the event of this bill's adoption? With the handing of state shops into private hands, employment will undoubtedly diminish to a certain extent. Experts estimate 15-20 percent reductions. As for shops in contract hands, they operated essentially without excess workers.

I do not fear mass unemploymet, because it is clear that in the catering industry, the trade, and the service network, manpower shortage is already common. Certain business centers clearly have become superfluous; they were that way already. If the shops come into private hands, then this will pose a problem for a considerable number of enterprises.

Abandoning old ways is not a problem; it is the objective. Apart from this, the bigger shops will remain under state ownership, regardless of this bill. Certain functions will remain.

Further, certain branches of the business centers—bookkeeping and maintenance—will be able to undertake work; in actual fact, the enterprise workers will also be able to compete for a given shop if they want to show they are good at their trade.

I do not fear unemployment.

The fifth point I would highlight is that it is exclusively in respect of natural entities, or economic work communities formed with their participation, deposit companies, and limited liability companies that the draft bill makes it possible to obtain the right of ownership of the businesses. This measure of the draft is in accord with the administration's endeavor that there should evolve a domestic entrepreneurial stratum capable of development. It would not be possible to find a better, more natural, groundwork than this. Now, this demand would not be met in the event of enterprises, cooperatives or economic companies being also able to complete; it is to be feared that, in such a case, the private owner could not compete, or that very often all that would happen would be a repainting of the shop sign.

As the sixth point, I would say a few words about the legal arrangement. It is very important that in the course of privatization the asset should finally change owners at a realistic value. The sale of businesses should finally take place openly before the public, under the control of the local community. For this reason the draft bill takes appropriate measures about all this when it prescribes that the asking price of the business has to be sent on the basis of independent asset valuation. The sale of the businesses has to be openly advertised. Competitive bidding will have to be conducted. The presence of public notaries is compulsory at the competition tenders. The business will be given to the one who makes the most favorable offer. These, I think, are satisfactory guarantees.

Seventh, the draft bill does not extend to those areas where, by virtue of the spontaneous privatization, mixed-ownership companies have already come into being. On the other hand, the withdrawal of interest—shares—in the ownership of state enterprises, means that it will become possible for state assets, which were earlier taken into economic companies, to become genuinely privatized—that is, to get into the hands of private owners. This is justified not merely by a stance against salvaging assets, but here it is possible to carry out a correction and to further expand the sphere of people acquiring private property.

The eighth point is a very important issue, it often surfaces: Will there be enough capital? Is the process not impeded by the lack of capital? This is a serious danger, although demand for the shops exists—it has existed up until now. There is no doubt that this bill must also be supported by state financial structures. The support, of course, can only be in conformity with the market. For example, a concessional loan, by virtue of the fact that it is to be returned, does not give the asset as a national gift, but it gives the buyer an incentive to make it work effectively. The Hungarian National Bank has elaborated a credit construction which makes it possible for the commercial banks to offer to those competing in the competition tenders a bank loan extending to maximum three-fourths of the purchase price, at concessional interest, for a maximum 10 years with a two-year period of grace.

Another considerable source in the near future could be the new enterprise transformation financing fund, mobilizing foreign resources. The investment could also be linked to a tax concession; this, however, would be a bill, and I think it will come before parliament later on as part of a bigger package. Until then, however, we can get on with the work, because I am sure this will not be an obstacle in the launching of the privatization process.

Ninth and final point: Who is responsible? How will this process take place? The draft bill places the state tasks on the shoulders of the State Assets Agency, which will perform its activity with the institutional cooperation of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, as well as other departments concerned. The administrative organs concerned are prepared; they have evolved the method of implementation; they stand ready. If, therefore, the esteemed house adopts the draft, the process can begin, because the guidelines of asset sales and the briefing for enterprises have been prepared. It must be stressed here that we wish to carry through this process of privatization on a business basis. The Assets Agency, therefore, plays not a specific transacting role, but a preparing, supervising, coordinating, and organizing function. The asset valuation, which is the basis of the asking price, will be elaborated by a professional organization—it will be decided by experts. Entrepreneurs, small and large-scale entrepreneurs as well, may also apply—on the basis of business agreements—for the organization of the sale.

To sum up, I think that the draft bill clearly indicates that, in the government's economic policy the enlivening of enterprise, privatization and ownership reform, represent a focus. With the adoption of the draft the possibility will open up—in one of the important sectors of the evolving market economy—for flexible small undertakings, reacting rapidly to market effects, to regain the role that is due to them. In the sphere of retail trade, catering, and consumer services, in the event of the bill's adoption, the structure of the Hungarian economy will change in the desired direction. For this I request the support of the esteemed house. [applause]

Summary of National Assembly Session

LD2708220790 Budapest MTI in English 2113 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—The Monday session of the National Assembly has drawn to a close. Today's debate dealt with an amendment to the law providing for the transformation of financial organizations and business corporations.

Speakers Matyas Szuros announced that the motions for amendment would be discussed by the relevant committees, to be followed by a detailed debate.

Peter Akos Bod, minister of industry and trade, submitted a bill providing for the privatization of state-owned assets with regard to the retail, catering and consumer service industries. MTI parliamentary correspondents consider this move to be the beginning of concrete legislation providing the basis for fundemental economic change in Hungary. Since the handover of power, legislation has focussed mainly on transforming the political and administrational structures of Hungarian society.

As the first move in this direction, the bill under discussion offers Hungarian entrepreneurs the chance to buy retail shops, restaurants and petrol stations. The bill drew several motions for amendments from MPs. Debate is to be resumed after the relevant parliamentary committee has formed an opinion.

Today MPs also started discussing a bill dealing with the modification of certain laws linked to a change in the spheres of responsibility that various government departments are responsible for. The bill provides for the separation of responsibility for environmental protection and water management. The debate over the bill has been adjourned until the related committee has formed an opinion on the submitted motion.

A decision on whether to include the bill dealing with the mayor's office in the agenda is expected on Tuesday, while tomorrow afternoon will be reserved for interpellations.

Prime Minister Discusses Future Responsibilities

AU2408141790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Aug 90 p 5

[Laszlo Rab report on speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in Veszprem on 20 August: "Let Us Compete, and May the Best One Win—Government and Opposition Share the Responsibility."]

[Excerpts] Jozsef Antall arrived in Veszprem at noon on 20 August, where he delivered a speech at the festivities organized by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party. The prime minister stressed that St. Stephen's Day was celebrated by Hungarians scattered across the globe, and that this thousand-year-old legacy could also give us hope for the future.

Turning to topical issues, Jozsef Antall said the following:

"I know that not everyone supports the government. I am fully aware of the fact that several thousand representatives of the fallen regime are present here today, and they look back on the good old days with nostalgia. Furthermore, there are others who believe they could be doing things better than we are. That does not matter. We did not fight for a one-party country, we wanted to give people the opportunity to choose. Those who do not wish to vote for us should vote against us." [passage omitted]

"For seven decades, the Soviet Union represented a superpower which was feared by the world, and it had a communist regime which changed the world entirely and was to bring the land of Canaan to humanity one day. This political regime failed. In the last decades of the 20th century, it was incapable of competing with the progress that was taking place in the more fortunate half of the world. This regime is creaking and groaning, and, in our eyes, it is the sick man of Europe—just like the Byzantine or the Turkish Ottoman Empires once were. Furthermore, the countries that implemented this so-called socialist regime under Soviet military threat after World War II, now face a crisis because of their irresponsible economic policies.

"When the leaking ship recently started to sink, these states admitted that the need for change was essential. They surrendered their power peacefully because they knew they were leaving bankruptcy behind them. In the Soviet Union, they are just as aware of this as everywhere else. Gorbachev is a clever man because he realized that the Soviet Union could no longer be governed the old way. It is no surprise, either, that people in Hungary enjoyed a relatively greater freedom; we paid the highest price in 1956. The events of 1956 were a serious warning to communist parties in Western and Eastern Europe alike."

To this, Jozsef Antall added that Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and their colleagues—who had initiated the reforms—all came from the same school of political thought where Andropov was one of the teachers; Andropov was Soviet ambassador to Budapest in 1956.

Antall continued:

"It may be very sad, but we have reached an historical turning point which will have bitter consequences. One of the serious consequences is that, while the danger of a crumbling, sick Soviet Union invading Europe is gradually disappearing, the crumbling Soviet economy will no longer be able to import our goods; they will not be able to export any oil, and they will be unable to fulfill their part of our mutual contracts. All this leads to a reduction in our domestic production. The collapse of CEMA may also have unforeseeable consequences. At the same time, the German unification—which we helped bring about—also represents a considerable loss for us, and Iraq still has a sizable outstanding debt toward us." [passage omitted]

"Let us compete, and may the best one win, for the good of the country! Even those who did injustice to this country can have a part in its reconstruction. We, however, have the right to expect them to admit to their mistakes, and not just pretend that they had nothing to do with what happened."

'Astonishing Setback' in Industrial Output Reported

LD2708160890 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A preliminary report by the Ministry of Industry and Trade published today says that Hungarian industrial production experienced an astonishing setback in the first half of the year.

Although the gross industrial production value was 3.5 percent higher than it was in the same period of last year, all that growth was the result of the increase in producers' prices.

The 36.3 billion forints' (560 million US dollars') worth of profits state industrial companies made is still 26.4 percent down on the profits achieved a year earlier.

Of the 1,203 industrial companies in Hungary, 355 made a total loss of 18 billion forints (277 million USD), as compared to 5.6 billion forints in the same period of last year.

Losses in the basic materials industry were more moderate than those in the manufacturing industry.

The rise in the price of energy and metallurgical products, and the drop in demand on the domestic and rouble markets, hit the engineering industry hardest, which is a loss-maker anyway.

Profits declined sharply in the iron and steel, chemical and light industries.

The bulding material industry is, perhaps, in the sorriest state of all: Its gross production value was only 90 percent of last year's in the period under survey, and its net deficit amounts to 200 million forints (3 million USD).

Of the 267 building companies, 93 produced a deficit totalling 3.4 billion forints (50 million USD) at the end of the fist six months, as compared to 1 billion forints in the same period last year.

Minister Comments on Local Government Future

LD2508195390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] The Hungarian interior minister believes that, at next month's local government elections, the voters will replace the overcentralized and bureaucratic council system, whose formation was one of the fundamental mistakes of the former regime. Speaking at the two-day consultation under the aegis of the Conrad Adenauer Foundation, Balazs Horvath pointed out that the local self-governments will receive full independence in decisionmaking in the new system. Neither the president of the republic, nor the government, or the Interior Ministry wil have the right to interfere with their work.

The regional and national organs' relationship to each other will also change—there will be no hierarchical structure among the various self-governments.

In reply to a question, the minister said that it would not be useful for society if the former one-party rule was replaced by a three-party dictatorship.

Office for Ethnic Minorities Established

LD2408151290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] At its session yesterday, the government adopted a decree on establishing the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities [Nemzeti es Etnikai Kisebbsegi Hivatal] [NEKH] and on setting up a committee to examine the enjoyment of illegal privileges. The government members also proposed a parliamentary committee. A briefing is being held now on the work of these committees. Gabor Bankuti is representing our editorial office there. Over to the parliament building.

[Bankuti] The Office for National and Ethnic Minorities will be an organ of state administration with national jurisdiction. Its role will not be interest representation, but the accomplishment of government tasks related to the nationalities and the ethnic minorities, as well as the preparation of decisions—such as the drafting of the law on national minorities. With this, it will take over at a higher level what, up to now, has been the tasks of the secretariat, thereby giving greater weight to the accomplishment of nationality tasks. It intends to deal primarily with matters which do not fit into the frameworks of individual ministries, but which cannot be postponed. The office, which might later develop into a ministry, will be in regular contact with the nationalities' interest representation organs and with the nationalities' parliamentary spokesman. It will maintain information and legal assistance offices. This is what Minister Without Portfolio Gyula Kiss and Miklos Palos, state secretary for the prime minister's office, said in the wake of the government's decision which was made yesterday. They will manage this office—it will come under their supervision.

We learned from Justice Minister Istvan Balsai that the government proposes the establishment of a parliamentary committee to examine the responsibilities and assets of certain former state and party leaders. This would make use of the material of the committee in the previous parliament, but it would carry out independent investigations. The government committee, which is to be newly set up and which will examine illegal privileges, will consist of experts and scholars. The briefing is still going on.

MTI Officials Relieved of Posts

LD2708200290 Budapest MTI in English 1508 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—At the prime minister's proposal, the president of the republic has relieved Tamas Palos of his post of general director of the Hungarian News Agency, whilst recognizing his merits, and commissioned him to fulfill the functions of acting-general director until further notice.

As will be remembered, the presidents of Hungarian radio and Hungarian television were recenlty appointed under the new law on the appointment of national media leaders. In the case of the MTI, however, candidates have been invited to run for posts.

Tamas Palos became MTI general director one and a half years ago.

The government also discharged Dr Laszlo Karvalics from his office as first deputy general director of the Hungarian News Agency, with simultaneous recognition of his abilities, and entrusted him with the duties of deputy acting-general director.

154 Workers in Iraq Request Evacuation Help

AU2708142690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Aug 90 p 1

["Open Letter" issued by Dromex employees, working in Iraq, to Prime Minister Mazowiecki on 18 August]

[Text] We would respectfully like to inform you, Mr. Prime Minister, that we, the employees of the Warsaw-based enterprise Dromex, who are currently working in Iraq, submitted a list of names to the consul in the Polish Embassy in Baghdad on 10 August 1990, bearing 154 names of people who want to leave Iraq because of the recent developments there.

Contrary to the communiques broadcast by Polish Radio—communiques that are aimed at calming public opinion and our families in Poland, claiming that every Polish citizen who wishes to return to Poland can readily do so—the reality is completely different.

We are informed that a return to Poland of employees of Polish enterprises is dependent on the consent of the Iraqi contractor. The contractor only consents to the return of those people whose contracts have finished. Given this, the Polish citizens have no say in the matter. That is why we are appealing to you, Mr. Prime Minister, to intervene and take appropriate steps that will truly enable the return of every Polish citizen who wishes to do so and to ensure that as a result of this decision the employee will not be liable to sanctions from the enterprises that employ them.

Polish Community, Ramadi,Iraq 18 August 1990.

Possible Polish Hostage in Baghdad Reported

LD2708170490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Interview with unidentified evacuees from Iraq by unidentified correspondents; place and date not given]

[Text] [First correspondent] Today, 136 Poles returned home on a special plane which was the first with the LOT logo to start directly from Iraq.

[Second correspondent] Are there difficulties in evacuation in Poland?

[First evacuee] There are difficulties in so far as individual permission is required for every, for almost every, for every worker from the Arab side, the Iraqi side.

[Second correspondent] Do they cause any difficulties?

[First evacuee] Well, well, for the time being, for the time being, they do not, although for the time being contacts are continuing, and we are servicing that installation, so that we have not yet withdrawn. The Americans, French, and Italians there are not working and cannot leave, and are being located at strategic sites and important ones, industrial ones.

[Second correspondent] Was there a moment when you thought that you would not return home at all?

[Second evacuee] Well, there was such a moment. My husband was an employee of the embassy in Kuwait. He was to have returned home with us, so he remained as a hostage in Baghdad. [sentence as heard] They did not let him out, [word indistinct]. They let us leave and left him behind. First, they said he is a hostage; then they said he is interned. Until everyone else leaves the Kuwait Embassy, he will remain in Baghdad.

[First correspondent] The next plane with returning Poles is expected tomorrow.

Foreign Ministry on Evacuating Poles From Gulf

LD2708180390 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Polish Foreign Ministry's Statement on Iraqi Crisis"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 27—The crisis in the Persian Gulf made the Ministry of Foreign Affairs take energetic steps aimed to evacuate Polish citizens from the threatened area.

For understandable reasons those activities focused in the first stage on Kuwait, which 595 Poles left in a relatively short time (about 30 Poles who did not want to go remained there). Polish citizens from Iraq are now being evacuated. Till today 435 persons out of the total number of some 2,800 have left that country.

Following reports on alleged difficulties in letting Poles leave Iraq made by directors of Polish enterprises, the Foreign Ministry on August 22 sent instructions to the Polish Embassy in Baghdad to make it possible for all those willing to leave to do it, irrespective of the character and place of their work. The embassy is strictly following those instructions in relation to Polish enterprises which, on their part, received similar instructions from their parent companies in Warsaw.

At the same time the ministry started talks with Iraq with a view to accelerating the procedure of issuing exit visas for Polish citizens. The ministry will continue its activities to help the evacuation process take place efficiently and quickly. To this end direct charter flights to Baghdad are organized with next groups of evacuees, totalling some 150 persons each, coming today and tomorrow.

As long as aplications continue to arive, organized will be next charters (about 60 persons willing to go have been listed in Baghdad at present). The Foreign Ministry will continue activities aimed at making it possible for all the persons concerned to leave.

136 Return From Iraq 27 Aug

LD2808012190 Warsaw PAP in English 2341 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 27—Further 136 Poles have come from Iraq aboard a special "LOT" airlines' plane today. The group includes workers of Polish companies operating in Iraq.

This was the first group that flew directly from Baghdad to Warsaw. Foreign Ministry official has said the next plane is expected tomorrow.

Current Oil Supply Situation Reviewed

LD2708205290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Poland has guaranteed oil supplies from the East and West through the end of this year, on condition that the Russians meet their contractual obligations, our reporter was told by a representative of the chemical goods export-import center. Talks on this subject are being conducted in Warsaw. The Soviet partner is reminding us of his unfavorable fuel balance, and noting that he is already experiencing the effects of the trade embargo on Iraq. Nevertheless, following Friday's price fluctuations in the international fuel market, we expect oil price stabilization. Since the Russians have fuel problems, however, and prices are fluctuating in the West, a rise in fuel prices here is unavoidable.

Walesa Returns From Two-Day Italy Visit

LD2708170790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Following a two-day visit to Italy, Lech Walesa returned to Gdansk this afternoon in a special plane provided by the organizers of an international meeting in Rimini. At Rebiechowo Airport, he said: I have recharged my batteries for Polish problems. They have to last while I perform better work. The world is very interested in Poland, but it has a faulty picture. I had to clarify a great deal. The visit to the pope was of a private nature. The Holy Father is greatly interested in Polish affairs. He is seeking information. He loves Poland and is concerned about our problems. [passage omitted]

Public Opinion Poll on Walesa, Mazowiecki

AU2708202790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 90 p 2

["J.R."-signed report: "Opinions on Disputes"]

[Text] In a survey carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center in the middle of July, only ten percent of the respondents understood the origins of the differences within "Solidarity." Most of them, 71 percent, thought it was the result of a power struggle. They mentioned personal friction, Walesa's presidential ambition, a struggle for dominance over "Solidarity," the ambitions of some politicians fearful of losing their positions, or a misunderstanding between Walesa and Mazowiecki. Seventeen percent of the respondents mentioned differences between political programs.

Half the respondents had no firm opinion on political arguments, and did not express clear support for any political side. The remainder were divided—27 percent said they support Mazowiecki, and 22 percent said they support Walesa and the people around him. It is mostly rural inhabitants, people with little education, workers, and farmers who expressed support for Walesa, whereas urban residents, people with a higher level of education, members of the intelligentsia, and white-collar workers preferred Mazowiecki.

Some 54.5 percent of the respondents believed that what is currently happening inside "Solidarity" possesses enormous importance. Some 11.3 percent thought the opposite.

Asked which politician, Walesa or Mazowiecki, is more deserving of trust, 46 percent of the respondents said Mazowiecki and 16.2 percent said Walesa. But 66 percent thought Walesa is more courageous than Mazowiecki, and only 15 percent thought Mazowiecki was the more courageous. Some 35.3 percent said Walesa expresses the interests of the majority of Poles better than Mazowiecki; 32.1 percent thought the opposite. Finally, 44.2 percent thought Mazowiecki should be president instead of Walesa, and 18.2 percent said the opposite.

One-third of the respondents thought that the direct talk between Mazowiecki and Walesa on 7 July will alleviate the conflicts inside "Solidarity." Another third had no comment to make, and one quarter thought the talk would make no difference.

Forty percent of the respondents thought the presidential election ought to be held this year, and 37 percent said it ought to be held next year. As many as 81 percent thought that the president ought to be elected in a general election.

ROAD's Bujak Notes Differences With Walesa

LD2708114590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, leader of Citizens Movement-Democratic Action, by Gdansk Radio listeners phoning into studio; date not given]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Unidentified listener] I would like to express my affection for you, as well as that of all my friends. We support you and your friends. Let us have as many Poles as possible like you. Take very great care of yourselves.

[Bujak] Thank you very much.

[Second listener] Such a well-known name, which fought the communist for workers rights. How do you feel now as a traitor of that workers (?brotherhood), destroying *that which was created with such great pain and struggle.*

[Bujak] I have always felt myself to be a representative of Solidarity, not just of the workers' brotherhood, but of everyone who was in Solidarity, of the widely understood working world. Furthermore, madam, I do not feel myself to be a traitor, although the words which I speak, the thoughts which I express cannot always please every listener or person. I think I understand well what is happening in Polish politics, in the Polish economy. I think I understand well what lies ahead for us, and I speak the truth quite simply, so that my workers colleagues are not going to be surprised by the course of events, the results of the policy which is being carried out. They understand what awaits them.

[Third listener] Is Democratic Action [Citizens Movement-Democratic Action—ROAD] by any chance a cover-up for so-called socialists or communists with a human face? One more thing, also: I have not noticed, in anything said by Walesa, any scathing attacks on ROAD. There have not been any, nor laments at the breakup of Solidarity. I think it is time for you to apologize to the Polish nation for the notoriety that you have gained abroad over the divisions and splits in Solidarity, as it is quite clear that Walesa has not done that.

[Bujak] We differ greatly in the assessment of the situation in Solidarity, in assessing the political situation. There was a difference between Lech and ourselves, because when Lech initiated a certain division in Solidarity, we were opposed to that. We criticized him for it. This, I understand, you understood as an element of conflict and an attack on Lech. Moreover, we said immediately that what Lech was doing then had unfavorable consequences for Polish policy. Immediately from the outset, we said that if we were talking about the future political picture of Poland—that which was initiated by Lech, started by Lech, the polarization in the Solidarity milieu initiated by Lech—this was going to have a very good result. [end recording]

Discusses Attitude Toward Solidarity

LD2708225490 Warsaw PAP in English 2214 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 27—Leader of the Citizens' Movement—Democratic Action (ROAD) Zbigniew Bujak answered today questions by listeners of the Polish radio third programme and the Gdansk radio section "Baltyk".

Three days after Lech Walesa's talk with radio listeners, the majority of today's questions concerned relations between the two politicians.

Bujak denied a rumour that he was not invited to the Gdansk shipyard for the observances of the 10th anniversary of signing the August agreements. He said instead he wanted to talk with Walesa in public as there were many questions concerning the role of Solidarity *and the role of ROAD within Solidarity.*

"What I heard was only an attempted slander. It is not true, Lech, that I have changed. It is not true that what I am doing is the change of my attitude to Solidarity or to what I has been doing so far. Yes, I have arranged the democratic action but it is the implemetation of your postulate to form new groupings. And I hope that your postulate will be fulfilled well," Bujak said.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki is not ROAD's only candidate for president. We have many other men of worth (...) [as received] I do not like Solidarity '80. All the time we have cared for unity. What is needed is a strong union—Solidarity. Among Solidarity '80 activists there are too many people who lost as Solidarity members." [no beginning quotes as received]

Summing up his talk with radio listeners, Bujak said he was surprised with the tenor of questions. "People do not understand what a democratic life of the country means. One must fight so that there can be sound political rules, competition and enterprise," Bujak said.

Walesa Body Evaluates Political Parties Act

AU2708202390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Statement issued by the Political Commission of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee; date not given]

[Text] The Law Diary of the Polish Republic, issue No. 54, carries the text of the Political Parties Act passed by the Sejm on 28 July 1990. The subject matter of this act is of fundamental importance for the shaping of parliamentary democracy in our country. It is with regret, therefore, that we say that the provisions of this act actually discourage the development of the new political parties that have emerged from opposition to totalitarian communism.

The act authorizes the Constitutional Tribunal to interfere in the statutes and programs of parties, and even allows it to ban the activity of parties on the basis of completely vague and legally undefined criteria. It ought to be remembered that, despite its name, the Constitutional Tribunal is not an impartial judicial body, but a political institution created by the Sejm. Most of the judges in this tribunal were appointed by the previous Sejm, and do not even correspond to the parliamentary composition that was established during the "roundtable" talks. Judges in the Constitutional Tribunal are not impartial, because they only serve for a single Sejm term of office. Imposing this sort of supervision over political parties places them in a worse situation than that of humble associations.

Article Six of the act forbids political parties to "take advantage of any material support and financial assistance from foreign persons as defined in the law on convertible currency." This creates material privileges for those parties left over from the communist system, parties which amassed a huge fortune from public resources during the decades of the Polish People's Republic, and retain a major part of this fortune to this day. In this respect, the situation of new political parties is totally divergent. Because a major part of our society has become drastically poorer and the private economy is still very limited, the organizations and social initiatives that are currently emerging in Poland have to seek financial help from abroad, especially from Polish emigre communities. In this case, the act permits double discrimination, financial and moral, for it stops our emigre communities, who struggled gallantly for the Polish cause for decades, from taking part in the political life of their fatherland, which is now undergoing liberation. This is all the more upsetting because legal instruments simultaneously passed by the Sejm allow mass media to be financed from abroad, and yet the media are much broader instruments of political influence.

To sum up, the Political Parties Act is a typical product of the anachronistic political deal to which 65 percent of the deputies of the present Sejm owe their seats. We call on independent deputies, to whom parliamentary democracy is more than just a slogan, to undertake a legislative initiative aimed at amending the Political Parties Act.

Political Parties Act Called 'Badly Drafted'

AU2708085690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section p 4) in Polish 13 Aug 90

[Maciej Urbaniak commentary: "Practitioner's Doubts"]

[Text] The tortuous legislative road of the law on political parties has finally come to an end. The first drafts made their appearance in the Sejm as long ago as September 1989. This is not the place or time to speculate on who was holding up and who was accelerating this particular piece of legislation, although the legislative hiccups undoubtedly effected the quality of this law as a normative act. At its last meeting, during which it considered the Senate amendments, the Sejm's Legislative Commission described the drafting as extremely unsatisfactory. Despite this, it decided to accept most of the amendments that had been proposed by the Senate. This was dictated by the changing political scene.

Some six out of the seven substantive articles of the new law are of the Senate's authorship and only Article Six, which deals with political party finances, is attributed to the Sejm (the Sejm rejected the Senate's amendment to this article). The chief experts of the Senate Commission For Human Rights and the Rule of Law, the coauthors of the text are: Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, Jan Olszewski, Dr. Andrzej Malanowski, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, and Leszek Moczulski, all people who are active in small political groupings.

An Elastic Definition

The definition of a political party contained in Article One is so wide that in practice almost any organization can argue that it meets all the necessary criteria. "Participation in public life, in particular through the use of pressure to shape the policies of the state," is an inherent attribute of trade unions and many other associations, for example, national, religious, ecological, and even sporting associations.

The Senate decided not to incorporate the Sejm's suggested narrower definition—namely, "participation in parliamentary and local elections," stating that the decision to participate in the elections or to boycott them should be the independent decision of each party and one ought not to legislate in such matters.

To reiterate: In essence, the definition can be reduced to the contention that a political party can be any organization which considers itself to be such.

Outside the Workplace

The prohibition against setting up party organizations at workplaces and in the Armed Forces has not been backed up by any legal sanctions. The possible consequences for somebody who attempts to set up political party structures in the Armed Forces are quite obvious and in extreme cases could lead to a discharge from the Army. At the workplace, the position is somewhat vague.

Naturally, the Labor Code contains possible provisions that might be used. In certain instances the director of an enterprise might consider attempts to organize party political activity as grave breaches of the employee's duties and layoff that person without any notice, as provided for by Article 52 of the Labor Code. Especially in circumstances where such activities had been repeatedly carried on after several warnings and reprimands.

But, given a situation where a company manager (or owner) supports the setting up of a party organization, the prohibition contained in Article Two would become a dead letter.

Surely Superfluous

Article Three, which contains provisions protecting the name and symbols of parties, seems to be something of an overkill. It will only be of benefit to those parties which officially register and become legal entities. The authors of this article have clearly forgotten the existence of Article 43 of the Civil Code, which extends the protection provided by Articles 23 and 24 of the same code to all personal property of all legal entities; all property rights, not just names and symbols.

Article Three, thus, is completely superfluous. If we accept the theory of the rationality of the legislator (because he included it he must have intended something different than the provisions in Article 43 of the Civil Code), this could lead us to conclude that the Senate's intention was to ensure protection solely for the party's name and symbols and not for any of its other property. Such a conclusion is rather absurd, but this will be another problem area for the courts to deal with.

The Indisputable

Article Four poses many such problems and doubts. There are only two things in this particular article that are indisputable:

—A party need not register officially; it will still be a political party, although it will not be able enjoy the benefits that flow from the fact of being a legal entity (for example, opening a bank account, leasing office accommodation, or hiring premises for its meetings in its own name). It is also debatable whether various financial provisions, including Article Six, would apply to such an unregistered organization, because these are applicable to bodies that are legal entities;

—The present legislation provides that a political party automatically becomes a legal entity by the mere fact of its registration. The issue of a registration certificate is only for evidential purposes and the court has no power to refuse to issue such a certificate.

Another Problem for the Court To Pronounce Upon

It is unclear what the court procedure actually is when an application for registration is lodged. The law is silent on the way the registration records are to be maintained (it is probable that regulations governing records and registers will be inappropriate in this situation, even in part, because this is a completely different legal institution). The author of the legislation has not seen fit to regulate these questions himself. Nor has he provided any delegation provisions for their regulation by, for example, the government or the minister of justice.

What is to happen when the documents accompanying the application are not in the form required by the law? Is the court to take a view on the merits of the case before that the applicant organization is or is not a political party? If the court comes to the conclusion that the application is trying to circumvent the law (a legal transaction conflicting with the law or done with the intention of getting around the law is void: Article 58, Paragraph One of the Civil Code), can it void the certificate of registration? If so, by what procedure? The questions multiply and there are no answers. I do not envy the chairman of the Warsaw Voivodship Court or the chairman of the government department (which one?) who will have the task of solving these problems.

And yet another problem area. The person who is lodging the registration documents becomes personally liable for the truth of the particulars stated in them. Where and what is the sanction for submitting information that is untrue. At first glance there seem to be three possibilities involved:

—Article 61 of the Minor Offenses Code, which fixes responsibility for supplying state organs with misleading information as to one's own or another person's identity;

—Article 266 of the Criminal Code, which defines the responsibility of a person who is empowered to lodge documents that are to have legal effect;

—Article 247 of the Criminal Code on the responsibilities of someone who gives false testimony, for example, in legal proceedings, in such a case the person in question is put on notice of his responsibilities by a warning that the giving of false information is punishable. Can one administer a warning of the punishability of the matter to an applicant lodging the documents, however, if the proceedings have not been set out? Again, this leaves the problem to be decided by the courts.

Every Article Raises More Uncertainty

Article Five is another legal curiosity. Let us confine ourselves to those questions on which the law is silent. What do the words "as a result of submissions [przedstawienia] made by the Warsaw Voivodship Court or the Minister of Justice," actually mean? Polish law does not know of any such institution. By what procedure and in what composition is the court to resolve the matter of the "submission?" Perhaps it is supposed to be by judicial decision, or an independent decision of a court clerk? What are the substantive and procedural grounds enabling one to make a decision to "submit" something (what?) to the Constitutional Tribunal? All the more so as the court does not need not have had sight of the statutes or the program of the party. This piece of legislation does not impose any obligation to include these things in any application for registration.

On what grounds is the minister of justice supposed to make his application? He is also the Prosecutor General of the Polish Republic, but if no offense has been committed (or if there are no grounds to suspect that one has been committed), how is he supposed to set in motion the machinery at his disposal? Is it intended to be through the infamous prosecutor's task to see that the law is observed?

It is also difficult to envisage what is to happen when the Constitutional Tribunal decides that the aims or activity of a party is unconstitutional and instructs the party to alter its program or statutes. What is to happen if the party refuses? Again, there is no sanction if this happens. Will open mockery of the decision of the Constitutional Tribunal go towards creating a "democratic law-governed state?" (Article One of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland) Many questions come to mind.

Article Six attracts the smallest number of ambiguities of a strictly legal nature. Suffice it to say that the prohibition on parties from benefiting from material and financial support from abroad is childishly easily to circumvent. All it requires is that the party sets up a foundation.

It may be that the majority of these questions and doubts will never be answered in practice. Nevertheless, the problem of the appropriate procedure will somehow have to be solved. The dignity of the Polish parliament requires that future statutes, which are as badly drafted as this one, never leave the Sejm, so that one does not have to speculate as to what the authors really intended.

Jaruzelski's Presidential Oath Slip Reported

AU2708130390 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 24 Aug 90 p 4

["W.G."-signed report: "Do We Have a President?"]

[Text] No, we do not! Wojciech Jaruzelski has never—not even for one moment—been the lawful president of the Polish Republic, because when Jaruzelski was repeating the words of the presidential oath after the Sejm Marshal, he made an error. Instead of the words—"I shall steadfastly defend the dignity [godnosc] of the nation"—he said—"I shall steadfastly defend the unity [jednosc] of the nation."

The error was never corrected. An oath that conflicts with the Constitution and has no legal effect whatsoever.

In the next few days a book on this subject entitled "A Book About a Small Error" ["Ksiega Jednego Malego Bledu"], is to be published. The author is Grzegorz Krolikiewicz. Leonard Grabowski is responsible for the book's layout. The book, intended as a collector's edition, will be published in 999 numbered copies by the "Poprzeczna Oficyna Jacka Wdzieczaka" (Lodz 8, P.O. Box 60).

The book contains the text of Grzegorz Krolikiewicz's letter to the presidiums of the Senate and the Sejm, from which we reproduce the following excerpt:

"The person swearing to defend the dignity of the nation, swears to defend the nation and its good name against infamy and humiliation, especially from outside forces. A president-elect, however, who swears to defend only the unity of the nation is reducing his own role to the same level of responsibility that a minister of interior affairs has—namely, taking care that the nation does not scatter or get overheated in its discussions beyond what is permitted. General Jaruzelski has once before defended the unity of the nation at the expense of its dignity—namely, on 13 December 1981. On 19 July 1989 he took an oath to do the same."

The book shows that the text of the letter was circulated to some 200 institutions and individuals, including TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC (before the changes in its management). Only one addressee, Szymon Kobylinski, bothered to reply ("of course it was a substitution, a Freudian one at that! Putting in unity for dignity means that the oath is invalid...). Several other institutions, including the Sejm office, merely acknowledged receipt of the letter.

In order to avoid any doubts, the book has a comparison of the phonograms of the words "unity" and "dignity."

Can it be possible that the issue of the presidential office, an issue that arouses so much feeling, has unexpectedly been resolved?

Jaruzelski Resignation Petition Launched

AU2708203690 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 24 Aug 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Jaruzelski's Resignation"]

[Text] The Democratic Forum "Mazowsze" has launched a public petition calling for Jaruzelski's resignation. Here is the text of their open letter that accompanies the petition:

Poland is threatened by a growing political crisis. The roots of this crisis lie in the continuing communist influence in the state structures and the economy. The contract with the communists is blocking true reforms and makes the creation of a state that is subject to the rule of law, a democratic Polish Republic, that much more difficult.

Poland is the only country in Central Europe that has not held free elections and has a president who is a former communist party head.

Things cannot go on this way and the perpetuation of this situation could result in a mass explosion of dissatisfaction. That is why Jaruzelski must go!

Mazowiecki on Government, Social 'Understanding'

LD2608124190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified correspondent at Warsaw University on 25 August—recorded]

[Text] "The Experience of August: A Decade of Solidarity" was the title of a meeting which took place yesterday at Warsaw University and in which Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki took part. Furthermore, because a year has gone by since parliament entrusted him with steering the government's work, I tried to persuade the prime minister to share with us his reflections on this anniversary.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, how do you assess this year of your government?

[Mazowiecki] I think this is not a matter which I have to assess. It should be assessed by others, so I do not have to make a self-assessment.

[Correspondent] What would you consider to be your greatest success, and what was your greatest failure?

[Mazowiecki] This really is a case of close the doors, we are coming through the window. You really are determined with your questions. I repeat: It is not I who has to make an assessment. I, however, consider the most important thing to be—not in the categories of success or failure, but as the most important matter—a fundamental social understanding; the social understanding between the government and society. This is what I consider to be the most important thing.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct]

[Mazowiecki] I expect a [word indistinct] Solidarity as a trade union; not only a vindictive Solidarity, but one which would co-create the social and economic situation in the country—a Solidarity which would understand this situation [words indistinct]. I think, however, that lately there are fewer [words indistinct], but Solidarity has shown very great understanding for the difficult economic situation in the country. [end recording]

Industrial Production Forecasts for 1990

AU2708151390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section p 1) in Polish 21 Aug 90

["P.A."-signed report: "Supply Forecast for the Last Six Months of 1990"]

[Text] The Domestic Trade Ministry has prepared a study of the supply situation in the first half of 1990 and forecasts for the next six months of 1990. From an analysis of various market sectors it appears that:

—Coal extraction will reach some 70 million tonnes in the second half of 1990 and the year-end total should stand at some 147 million tonnes;
—Petrol supplies for the second half of 1990 should be sufficient to meet consumer demand (assuming normal levels of demand);
—The metallurgy industry forecasts increased output in the fourth quarter of 1990 (as a result of dwindling stocks of metallurgic products held by depots), and an increase in highly processed metallurgic products, as well as production of new products;
—There will be increased chemical fertilizer output, because of a normal increase in demand for fertilizer products in the fall. At the same time an increased demand for heavy truck and tractor tires is anticipated;
—A marginal increase of vehicle battery production is forecast, because of an anticipated increase in demand for these items during the coming winter;
—An increased demand for cables and cable manufacture is planned, because of increased export orders;
—The particle- and chipboard sector anticipates to increase production by 20 percent compared with production in the first half of 1990;
—Production of sawn timber will be maintained at the same production levels as in the first half of 1990;
—Paper production should rise in the second half of 1990 and reach some 88 percent of 1989 production levels given that paper imports have fallen to 22 percent of 1989 levels;
—Production of cardboard and paperboard will rise, but its year-end production total will only reach some two thirds of the 1989 output;

Overall, the forecast is that there will be a five to ten point increase in raw material output in the second half of 1990, especially in the last quarter, compared with the first six months of 1990.

RSW Press Titles To Be Sold Off

AU2708161390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Aug 90 p 3

[Anna Bikont report: "A Pandora's Box of the Press"]

[Text] The Liquidation Commission of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] is going to suggest to 60 journals that they completely separate themselves from this concern. Plans to alter the printing and distribution network are already complete. The commission's decisions have to be approved by the Council of Ministers, and this could occur at the end of August or beginning of September.

This first batch of publications out of a total of 160 post-RSW titles is meant to be an experiment which will help the commission reach subsequent decisions.

Journalists are awaiting these decisions with tension, and potential owners and shareholders are doing so with impatience. Which titles will be on the list of those belonging to private owners is still a secret, but news has leaked out that the fortunate ones will be sports and entertainment publications.

It is also known that none of the so-called hot titles which many milieus are competing for (EXPRESS, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, DZIENNIK LODZKI, or DZIENNIK ZACHODNI) will be on this list, nor those in which the West would like to invest, because the Council of Ministers has not yet decided on what basis the West can enter the Polish press market.

Some of the titles are to be handed over to journalists cooperatives (in accordance with the Abolition of the RSW Act, which provides for the surrender of assets to a cooperative if most of the staff join this cooperative and each member pays at least three monthly salaries from the previous year).

For a small amount of money (three monthly salaries from the previous year frequently amount to 600,000 zlotys, so even if one multiplies this amount by 50 or 100 employees...), journalists cooperatives will receive a large amount of capital. By capital I do not necessarily mean equipment, which is usually outdated and worthless, or premises, which automatically become the property of the cooperative, but the title of the paper itself. The market value of a successful journal can amount to several billion zlotys!

That is why the RSW Liquidation Commission believes that the profitable titles should pay the debts of other titles that are socially important but running at a loss.

The commission has received several dozen offers from Polish and Western sources. The Western sources include great press magnates like Maxwell, Hersant, and Murdoch. But the interest of Western publishing groups is moderate. Most offers are aimed at specific titles. Several firms do not mind which paper they invest in as long as it is profitable.

No one knows what the sale process will look like, though it will start in September. It is certain that this will be a financial and political process. It is possible, therefore, that Western customers will outbid all Polish ones, and still not obtain the titles they want.

The Liquidation Commission reached its decisions about the fate of the first 60 titles unanimously, except for one decision, where there was one vote against. "This is a good example of cooperation by what is perhaps the most pluralistic government institution," said Andrzej Grajewski, secretary of the commission.

The mass media are very interested in the proposals that have been made vis-a-vis EXPRESS, and more and more customers are offering to buy this Warsaw evening paper. The number of potential buyers of EXPRESS has exceeded the number for ZYCIE WARSZAWY, which until now has been way ahead of other papers. Various political milieus or groups, however, are interested in EXPRESS, whereas ZYCIE WARSZAWY is also being sought by Western firms.

One can expect decisions about the most popular RSW titles, as well as the end of the RSW liquidation process, by the end of the year, but not even that is certain.

Council of Ministers Views Economic Problems

LD2708201490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The state budget during the first half of the year was balanced and solvent, although important adjustments were made, since not all the anticipated incomes arrived. Territorial budgets, which ended this period with large deficits and debt burdens, were in a considerably worse position. Nevertheless, the situation is slowly returning to normal, although the government has to take steps to aid local budgets. This assessment was presented at today's Council of Ministers meeting. An assessment of the economic situation was also conducted. A document has been prepared for presentation to the Sejm in the forthcoming period.

The Council of Ministers also discussed the results of the work of a government commission appointed to examine the causes of the tragic rail accident near Ursus, which occurred on 20 August. A communique stated that the accident was caused by the driver of the Silesia train, who failed to brake at the "stop" signal. The government heard a report by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on the evacuation of Polish citizens from Kuwait and Iraq. Another plane will land in Warsaw during the night, while a smaller government plane will be sent out for the next 60 Polish workers. The Council of Ministers is discussing a draft law on welfare assistance.

New Administrative Layer Operational

LD2708162590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Parishes and voivodships have today been joined by a third administrative layer, regional administrative offices [urzedy rejonowe]. They will fulfill functions of control and inspection in relations to such areas as urban planning and architecture, environmental protection, and sanitary conditions. Here too it is possible, starting today, to deal with such matters as car registration, planning permission, or applications for the granting of Polish citizenship. There are 253 of them in the country. And may they indeed, as planned, make the administrative life of applicants easier.

FSN Call To End Destabilizing Actions Issued

AU2508194890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Report on communique issued by the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front (FSN) to ROMPRES; date not given]

[Text] The communique stresses that from 22-25 August—following an authorized meeting of the Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic) and under circumstances which have to be clarified—there were successive attempts by groups of people to occupy University Square, thus interrupting the normal flow of traffic and disturbing public order and peace. The FSN calls on all political formations, trade union, public, and nonpolitical organizations, as well as on all citizens to dissociate themselves from such destabilizing actions which generate political and social tension. The FSN calls on all responsible people and on all organizations, irrespective of their nature, to adopt in their demands and actions such measures and conduct as to ensure the observance of existing laws in conformity with the principles of democracy.

At the same time, we call on the forces of order to act openly, firmly, and on the basis of law and order in order to preserve the peace and permit the normal progress of social life in Bucharest. The ROMPRES communique is signed by the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front.

Army Calls on People Not To Compromise Democracy

AU2508192790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] The Army's Press Section has sent a "communique" to ROMPRES for publication in connection with some harmful assessments about the Army, carried by a number of publications. This communique stresses, among other things, that the Army, the bearer of a glorious tradition of struggle in preserving the national existence of our people is interested today—more than ever before at this tumultuous end of the century and new millennium—in ensuring that all Romanians are united in their spirit and sentiments and that they give the greatest priority to the supreme interests of their Romanian homeland and to its elevation and protection. The Army calls on all political forces and on all Romanian citizens to refrain from illegal actions which may compromise our young democracy.

Army Criticized for Political Involvement

AU2708125090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 24 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Could It Be True?"]

[Text] On 22 December when everything in our country seemed to collapse, the Army was the only institution that ensured the permanence of the organized existence of our national being. It saved Romania, the revolution, and freedom. For this very reason, everywhere in the great cities, but also in towns, and communes, all people chanted from the bottom of their hearts, thus showing their love for the sons serving under the tricolor flag and the arms: The Army is with us! No one else united us as did the Army at that time, up to that time, and afterward during the troubled times that followed. Our Army, the people's Army. We want to stress that it is the Army of the whole of Romania, of all Romanian citizens, of all institutions, of all political parties and groups, and of each citizen in our country. No one is entitled to take over this sacred institution like a feudal possession, which is as sacred as our existence as a nation. And yet, it seems that pressure is being put on the Army, that a group obsessed with the desire to preserve power at any cost is trying practices within the ranks of the Romanian Army, which are alien to its role and mission. Thus, a reliable source has provided us with a text from which we quote: **"A comprehensive slander campaign has been launched in the military units of the National Defense Ministry in connection with the Romanian students and the opposition forces. In concrete terms, the new bodies of the military security ("counterespionage"), together with unit commanders and large units, are presenting, within meetings of the military personnel, material which presents students' media and those of the opposition as genuine cradles of the renaissance of the Iron-Guard movement. Apart from the striking proof of this blasphemy, of its authors, and of the purpose behind it, there is at least one question that arises: Why does the Army leadership agree to get involved in this dirty and irresponsible political game of those in power with the aim of turning it against its own people by means of a new fratricide confrontation?"**

This is the most relevant passage in the text which we have received, a text that was issued following the reports of a group of officers who were truly indignant about such practices.

Hoping that the facts included in the reports of this group of officers are accidental, we express the confidence that the Army—with an equally detached position toward all forces of our society—will be able to preserve its prestige untainted to ensure its glory and the freedom of the Romanians. Its involvement—probably forced—in a new political game, in establishing a new dictatorship with a more of less human face, would seriously compromise the democracy, which we are trying to establish in Romania with so many sacrifices and such great efforts.

Army Rejects Interference Charge

AU2708125190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0931 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Release From the Army Press Department"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—Referring to some assessments on the Army in a number of publications, especially in daily DREPTATEA of August 24, 1990, the press department of the Army makes the following points:

1. By virtue of the democratic values of the revolution of December 1989 the Romanian Army does not accept to be encompassed in the sphere of interests of any party or other grouping with political or apolitical character, the only policy it makes being to defend the homeland, the policy of the Romanian state.

2. The allegations that "a defamatory campaign regarding the Romanian students and the forces of opposition" is unfolded in the military units under the Ministry of National Defence have no real substantiation. Their tendentious character is meant to stir and fuel dissensions and artificial hostilities between various categories of people, with an obviously destabilizing purpose.

3. The Army observes the principle of parties' autonomy and does not interfere with their internal affairs. We therefore invite the editorial boards of the party newspapers to abstain from assessments regarding the Army (including its command), the more so as some of these assessments are against the national interests.

4. The Romanian Army—a fundamental institution of the state—respects the people's will expressed in the free elections of May 20, the decisions of the parliament, government and president of Romania, contributing to the consolidation of stability and to ensuring the country's democratic life, being ready at any moment to defend the homeland's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

5. The Army, bearer of a glorious tradition of fight for the preservation of the Romanian people's national being, is interested today, at this eventful end of century and millennium more than ever before in deeming above anything else the Romanian homeland's supreme interests, its progress and defence. The Army calls on all political forces and all citizens of Romania to abstain from illegal actions that might endanger our young democracy.

Press Reviews University Square Demonstrations

AU2708155990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1454 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—The Romanian newspapers sensibly comment on the various events in University Square in Bucharest of late.

"AZI", the press organ of the National Salvation Front, considers that the "presence of spontaneously gathered groups of people", which has been felt since August 24, suggests some kind of "test" of the police's capacity of intervention, of the citizens' reactions, of the attitude of the television station and of the authorities, etc. "However," "AZI" further reads, "the new nights of University Square might very well be components of other scripts, like, for instance, the scenario of provacation, of pushing things so far that the Army will have to step in, or—and this is not to be ignored—of diverting the Romanians' attention from what is going on in Transylvania".

The independent newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" runs an article headlined "a dangerous game" showing that "the people who supported the ideals of the neo-communism-free zone a few months ago should show restraint vis-a-vis such apparently diversionist actions which, with or without intention, cast unwelcomed light on a social phenomenon whose significance and worth should make history."

"Who Wants a Demonstration in Bucharest's University Square and Why?" wonders "DREPTATEA", the press organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, in an article called "The Police Are Fighting the Police", referring to police action on August 24 which, the newspaper opines, "only irritated and incited the people further." In connection with television broadcasts, the newspaper wonders why the Romanian Television continues to take images from a demonstration without demonstrators and what the aim of that manoeuvre is: diversion on a national level, that is, diversion from the country's specific issues? The newspaper concludes it is hilarious to film hundreds of policemen quarelling with an old lady or with passers-by."

"University Square seems to have turned into the site of amusing games," shows "ADEVARUL", noting the presence of "strange people, some sort of customers of the area", who like to play a game with political nuances thinking they might establish order in "Golania", their lost homeland.

200 Demonstrate in University Square 27 Aug

AU2708180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—On Monday, August 27, at 17.20 hours about 200 persons were in the University Square chanting antigovernmental and anticommunist slogans.

At that time the traffic was normal in the area.

Bucharest Mayor Restricts Demonstrations

AU2808092490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] According to a decision signed by Engineer Stefan Ciurel, the general mayor of Bucharest City, the organizing of [word indistinct] gatherings, manifestations, demonstrations, meetings, and other forms of manifestations are banned in the following thoroughfares and their side streets: Victory Square, Romana Square, University Square, Rosetti Square, Mihai Kogalniceanu Square, and Iancu Square.

This decision was taken because lately, some gatherings, far from being democratic ways of expressing certain views or dissatisfaction, turned into acts of destruction, disturbed the citizens peace and public order, and disturbed the normal flow of activity. These acts required the intervention of the police organs in order to reestablish order. By the same decision, No. 828 issued by the Bucharest mayor, public gatherings are allowed in Liberty Park, Opera Park, and Youth's Park. In this respect the mayoralties of the respective sectors and public order administrations will take measures within 30 days to ensure civilized conditions for such meetings. Likewise, the organizers of public gatherings, with the agreement of the Sports Clubs, may request authorization for such manifestations in stadiums as well.

Strikers Demand Roman's Presence in Brasov

AU2708095090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] A general strike began this morning in the processing sections of Tractorul [Tractor] Enterprise in Brasov. The strike was called by the Dreptate and Fratie [Justice and Brotherhood] Free Trade Union, which is affiliated to the Infratirea [Fraternity] Trade Union Federation. The strike will last until the arrival of Prime Minister Petre Roman, because the answer given by the governmental commission to the trade union's claims are considered inadequate. The employees of the sectors who work around-the-clock are not participating in the strike, as they belong to the steel workers trade union, whose claims were solved at an earlier date.

Roman Empowers Representative

AU2708184190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—A number of 32 sections and departments of "Tractorul" Enterprise in Brasov, including members of the "Dreptate si Fratie" Trade Union Organization, are on a general strike asking that the Prime Minister Petre Roman should answer their request and come to Brasov to analyse their claims on the spot. During the meeting 12 leaders of the aforementioned organization had on Monday with the prefect of Brasov County, Mr. Ioan Sofroniciu, the latter, empowered by Mr. Petre Roman, informed them that the prime minister would not come to Brasov as long as work is not resumed, the strike being considered as an attempt to exert pressure on the government. The trade union leaders attending the meeting stressed that there was the risk that the strikers organize a meeting in Brasov on Wednesday, 29 August. Noteworthy is the fact that the employees in hot sectors, members of the metal workers' trade unions, are working.

Government Statement on Strike

AU2708184690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—In connection with the Monday strike of the "Dreptate si Fratie" trade union of "Tractorul" Enterprise of Brasov the Press Office of the Government states that it is not justified. The enterprise and the national economy lose over 20 million lei every day which the employees of "Tractorul" cannot recover and the fact that the enterprise does not operate causes great difficulties to other economic units. The strike is unlawful during the six-month moratorium unanimously passed by the democratically elected parliament.

The trade union leaders and the workers of "Tractorul" are called upon to consider with lucidity and responsibility the situation of the enterprise and cease the strike, the resuming of work being a prerequisite for solving their and the enterprise's problems.

Antitotalitarian Alliance Set Up in Brasov

AU2708134790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1027 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—An Antitotalitarian Democratic Alliance has been made up in Brasov, on the initiative of the local organizations of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, National Liberal Party, National Democratic Party and of the "Opinion" Group of Information and Dialogue. The alliance has set itself the task to militate for "instituting in Romania as soon as possible the state of law and the respect the state must have for the fundamental human rights. [no closing quotes as received]

* Commissions' Investigation Into 13-15 Jun

90BA0283A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 8 Aug 90 p 2

[R. Ciobanu report]

[Text] The parliament's investigations commission began its work this week by hearing in plenum the representatives and leaders of a number of apolitical institutions and organizations. The following were invited: the People's Association, the 16-21 December Association, the 21 December Association, the Independent Group for Democracy, the League of University Students, the League of IPB Students [Bucharest Politechnical Institute], the Association of Architecture Students, the Association of Medical Students, the ASE Students Trade Union, the Trade Union of Engineering Students, the Group for Social Dialogue, and the Romanian Television.

To keep the readers up to date on the progress of an inquiry of enormous interest to all of us, on Tuesday 31 July we once again went to Ministry Street. The importance of the day's hearings prompted me to note down some of the views of those summoned, thus complementing the shortage of specific and verified information that might allow one to come to any conclusions about the 13-15 June events.

Dialogues

Dan Preisz is secretary of the Trade Union of Engineering Students.

[AZI] You will present the trade union's viewpoint to the commission?

[Preisz] "Yes."

[AZI] Did you consult with your colleagues before coming here?

[Preisz] "Not now, not specifically. But the trade union formed an opinion immediately after the 13-15 June events."

[AZI] Do you have relevant information for the commission?

[Preisz] "I am here to express a viewpoint, not as a witness."

[AZI] Nevertheless, what the commission needs are actual facts....

[Preisz] "If I am asked for such facts, I will bring statements by students and professors who were personally affected by those events."

[AZI] What is your position on what happened on 13-15 June?

[Preisz] "We condemned the wave of violence of 13 June and requested that its authors be punished according to the law. The authorities claim that there is no doubt as to the fact that the students were not involved either individually or as organizations in the street riots that occurred on that day. We also censured the arrival of the miners and the persons who accompanied them on 14 and 15 June, and the abuses perpetrated against peaceful citizens. We were also indignant about the fact that university buildings were violated and some of their property was destroyed."

Eugen Leahu, leader of the IPB Students League, arrived around 1400.

[Leahu] "I came because I was summoned. I didn't even know what was happening here. I have just now arrived from Poland...."

[AZI] Do you think that your statement made any contribution to establishing the truth?

[Leahu] "I think that I did not say anything really interesting. Not having been physically present throughout the entire period, I had to rely on colleagues' stories and reports."

About the Television

The first of the four direct witnesses of the attack on the Romanian Television invited to the hearings was Mr. Dumitru Iuga, chairman of the Dorobantilor St. RTVR [Romanian Radio and Television] Trade Union.

[Iuga] "I talked about the events of 13 June because on that day I was at the television station as of 1900 hours. I think that what I had to say was already known to the commission. I maintain my view that the broadcast on Channel 1 should not have been interrupted (!?! editor's note), because we are like a military institution: We have a schedule to keep. I even drew a parallel with the events of 22 December, when the situation was terrible and the TV was continually broadcasting. Now it was not that terrible (!?!). The interruption was caused by panic more than anything else. Anyway, I cannot claim that Mr. Rasvan Theodorescu was responsible. My hearing was very civilized. The commission wants the truth and if it is brave enough to search for it, it will find it."

Mr. Emanuel Valeriu, whose hearing was somewhat later, said that he did not come as general director of the television station but as a mere employee and an eye witness to what occurred in the building on 13 June.

[AZI] There are conflicting views as to whether it was justified or not to stop broadcasting on the evening of 13 June; as one who was in immediate "contact" with the demonstrators, what is you opinion?

[Theodorescu] "I assumed responsibility for that action. My right to do so may be questioned. My reply is, I was entitled to do so because I work there. I will give you an example. A few years ago there was a serious accident at a plant in Pitesti. The worker in charge of the technological process, who observed the damage, did not have the courage to sound the alarm. He went off to look for the foreman, the foreman went to look for the chief engineer, the chief engineer went to the technical director, and the latter to the director general. In the meantime, the installation blew up and dozens of people were injured. The director found himself working in a park. I, as a simple citizen, if I see that a serious accident is about to happen, I cannot behave cowardly and not intervene. I wonder whether in the exceptional conditions of 22 December, if someone decided to cut off the broadcast, he would have been held responsible."

[AZI] Is there anything you are sorry about?

[Theodorescu] "I was hasty. I should have allowed the more 'democratic' elements to come into the studio and should have recorded them, so that the entire country could have seen who the 'actors' were."

[AZI] Does the television station have important material, I mean video tapes, that can help the commission find out the truth?

[Theodorescu] "Yes. The commission has a right to request them and we can hand them over."

[AZI] How did your hearing go?

[Theodorescu] "I was invited as a witness. At one point, two representatives of the commission who declined to state their political affiliation tried to turn my statement into an interrogation concerning the activities of the television station during various periods of time even before the elections. I refused to talk about that."

[AZI] Do you trust this commission to establish the truth?

[Theodorescu] "In my opinion, it should begin with the events of January 1990. I am not waiting for its results. I know what happened. I wish it success."

Iliescu's 'Absolutist Enlightenments' Viewed

AU2608131390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Aug 90 p 1

["S.P."-signed article: "Preliminaries to a New Dictatorship—The New President Has Resumed the Old Habit of Working Visits"]

[Text] It is true, an innovation has been introduced—namely, the president is no longer a guest exclusively, but only periodically; sometimes, he is even a host, as in the case of his reception of the delegations of the National Council of Free Romanian Trade Unions and the Association of War Veterans. On other occasions, President Ion Iliescu was the guest of the "working people's collectives in towns and villages," and more recently of hospitals and orphanages.

On all these occasions, he discussed problems, gave solutions, and took measures. We do not deem it necessary to ask ourselves whether Marian Munteanu and Nica Leon were also arrested on his orders. The answer was televised and came from the Prosecutor's Office.

We note, however, that beyond any reason that might be invoked, the principle of the separation of state powers has been violated, regardless of whether or not the electoral law contains references to the interference of the elected president in problems pertaining to the country's current governing. Among other things, it seems that the appointment of Bucharest's mayor has also been made at the president's intervention. Even though this temporary solution may be inspired—after all, a subsequent solution may be equally uninspired—it is unacceptable from the viewpoint of the competence and responsibilities devolving on the government.

As a matter of fact, from his recent interview on Italian Television, we gathered the obvious attempt to prepare the public, in this way as well, to accept a man's access to absolute power at the expense of democratic practices. To the reporter's question of whether Romania will be (if it is going to be!) a parliamentary or presidential republic, Mr. Ion Iliescu answered that, in his opinion, there will be something of a blending of the two. A blending of the defects of the two variations, we might add, which will lead to the personal dictatorship of the "enlightened despot."

Even if the 85 percent obtained at the 20 May elections entitles Mr. Iliescu to aspire to a personal dictatorship, based on the same communist structure of power, we, for our part, take the liberty of warning him that:

1. The 85 percent he obtained was not 85, but (much) less.

2. This percentage has gone down quite a bit, and will further decrease, due to the "crisis of distrust experienced by our society."

3. The open or hidden repression designed to elude the truth or stifle the dissatisfaction caused by a disastrous economic policy—inspired, to a large extent, by the neocommunist mentality of the president and his aides—will not achieve its goal.

We feel entitled, therefore, to ask the president to renounce his paternalistic utopias or absolutist enlightenments. Nobody can be fooled by them anymore; not even the 20 odd million of "stupid people," [reference to Silviu Brucan's statement on the stupidity of the masses] even though the "yes men" and "sycophants" are assuring him of the contrary.

Campeanu on Solving Hungarian Minority Problem

AU2608200190 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Eugen Iordache article: "The Visit of Radu Campeanu, President of the National Liberal Party, to Arad—Orchestration of the Opposition, Inviolability of the Borders, and Romania's Sovereignty and Integrity"]

[Text] Two news conferences were held on 16 August 1990 in Timisoara and Arad by Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party [PNL], the most significant excerpts of which are as follows:

"I want to propose an ORCHESTRATED STRUCTURE [capitalization as published] of the opposition parties in Romania and, in this sense, to call on the National Peasants Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ecological Movement, the Ecologist Party and on other independent organizations like the Group for Social Dialogue and, maybe, the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania.

"I want to mention that those political formations which agree with my proposal will not be unified and thus will not lose their identity—each of them will remain a separate entity.

"It goes without saying that any political group that backs our ideas will be able to join this structure."

A reporter of the Hungarian language newspaper JELEN—a publication that also cooperates with newspapers in Hungary—asked the following question: "Do you believe that the problems of the Hungarian minority in Romania can be solved? You must know that you are the most liked Romanian politician by the Hungarians in the past 45 years!"

Mr. Radu Campeanu said: "We believe that the problems of the Hungarian minority can be solved if two conditions, which cannot be questioned, are respected:

"1. The inviolability of Romania's borders as stipulated in the Trianon Treaty.

"2. Full respect for Romania's sovereignty and integrity.

"If these two conditions are respected, then one can conduct discussions, of course, if demands do not go beyond certain limits."

"What do you mean by certain limits?" the journalist of the Hungarian language publication asked.

Mr. Radu Campeanu answered: "The rights of minorities have to be respected in a state of law, in a country characterized by genuine democracy. We cannot not approve, however, of the creation of a campus in Cluj where 20,000 Hungarian students are studying and where professors from Budapest are teaching."

* Brucan on Opposition, Privatization

90BA0283B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 10 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed interview with Siviu Brucan; place and date not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] Professor Brucan, now that we have had more time to reflect on social and political developments, we would like to ask you: What do you think about what has been happening recently and what do you think is most important and urgent at this time?

[Brucan] In view of the fact that in September the EEC foreign ministers will discuss Romania's problem again, I think that the first priority is to initiate in Bucharest some political actions designed to change our current status as a country excluded from the Community's programs for East Europe. I don't know how best to stress the idea that without the cooperation of Western governments and companies, our economic modernization and reform program is a dangerous and fatal illusion. We have discussed this problem with leaders of the opposition and with Western ambassadors and we have come to the conclusion that the time has come for either the president or the prime minister to emerge from the close circle of political sectarianism and to invite the heads of the political parties represented in Parliament to constructive talks, and to ask for their support for what is obviously a national cause. I recently met with some local opposition leaders. Mr. Radu Campeanu impressed me as an enlightened statesman who is conscious of the fact that this is a national cause more important than party interests. Mr. Ion Ratiu is incontestably an intelligent man with a lot of experience in business. His pragmatic sense tells him that this is the right time to invest in what is a profitable venture. As for my friend Geza Domokos, who is struggling so energetically for the rights of the Magyar minority, he must also do something for the future of this country in which the minority he represents lives. Generally speaking, all the political leaders, both those in power and in the opposition, must understand that the Romanian people will not forgive those incapable of rising above personal or party interests.

[ADEVARUL] We know that the West is particularly interested in the privatization process in our country. It is believed that the obstacles are greater than the achievements. Is this likely to make a good impression in the West?

[Brucan] Privatization is the acid test of the political willingness to shift to a market economy, because a market without a private economy and property doesn't make sense. Consequently, the image or impression created abroad is as important as the one in the country.

The main thing is that privatization should become a popular cause and should overcome simplistic slogans such as 'We won't sell out the country!' In the Soviet Union, public hostility against the new cooperative enterprises or restaurants has killed the cooperative movement. Therefore, we should begin with an area in which the public is unhappy with and critical of the existing situation and the beginnings should get great national and international publicity. Everyone in our country is unhappy with the hotels in beach and mountain resorts, the fact that room reservations are not firm, service is bad, and so are their restaurants. So, we should select six to eight seaside hotels, two large hotels in Bucharest, one in Sinaia, and another one in Poiana Brasov, and put them on international auction, to which we should invite all the foreign companies that have shown an interest in purchasing hotels in Romania. They can become the engines that will pull after them the entire hotel industry in Romania, raising it up to Western standards. Moreover, that can bring in wealthy tourists.

[ADEVARUL] Another sensitive point is the establishment of an independent television station, which is particularly insistently requested by certain Western countries.

[Brucan] In principle, the Romanian Government has accepted the idea of an independent television station. However, nothing specific has been announced so far, which is evidently not doing us any good. I discussed this matter in Madrid with Valeriu Lazarov, former director at Romanian Television, who is now the right hand of a major Italian owner of many television stations in several European countries. He told me he would be happy to come to Bucharest with his bosses if he received an invitation. In general, what the West expects from Romania is to stop talking and start doing.

Silviu Brucan Could Testify in Court

AU2708094990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0741 GMT 27 Aug 90

["The Film of the Revolution: Silviu Brucan To Be Heard by the Prosecutor?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] "I order you to have Silviu Brucan heard in the penal inquiry," Romania's Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu would have said in a news conference, alleges daily "ROMANIA LIBERA." Gheorghe Robu also added: "... Considering what Silviu Brucan has recently asserted, he can be of help, and maybe he can give details concerning the Palestinians, the foreigners in general (involved in Romania's revolution), the planes that flew or didn't fly, the 30 terrorists on I don't know what roofs, and so on and so forth."

The prosecutor general was hinting to what Silviu Brucan told daily "ADEVARUL" a few says ago, on the events during the revolution days. Well-known dissident under Ceausescu's regime, Silviu Brucan, now retired from political life, was one of the leaders of the National Salvation Front.

Former Political Detainees Demand Changes

AU2708060090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 Aug 9C p 3

["Declaration" issued by the Association of Former Political Detainees in Romania; date not given]

[Text] The meeting of the representatives of the "Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania," which was held in Cluj from 16-17 August 1990, examined our country's sociopolitical situation and noted the following:

1. Although eight months have elapsed since the revolution, nothing has been said yet about the criminal activity of the Securitate or about the abuse and corruption of the party nomenklatura over the 1945-1989 period. No legal steps have been taken to punish those guilty of crimes against humanity and of other serious violations of national laws and international conventions.
2. Political, legal, and economic structures have not been changed; the former communist nomenklatura and morally compromised elements still hold management positions.
3. No comprehensive legal steps have been taken to restore public and moral prestige and integrity, which were seriously affected by the unjust court decisions over the 1945-1989 period and to make up for all material damage caused to those who struggled and opposed the regime of communist terror.
4. The continuous activity of the Securitate, which makes use of the same inhuman means and methods against any sociopolitical body or people struggling to establish genuine democracy in Romania.
5. The mass media of those in power and especially television continue to provide the public at home and abroad with erroneous and tendentious information.
6. The separation of the powers in the state is formal and remains a desideratum, while the parliament is an instrument of those in power.
7. We also note that because of our domestic policy, Romania is isolated internationally.

Given this situation and in view of the major interests of our people, we believe that it is our duty to continue to struggle in the direction of rallying all antitotalitarian forces in order to achieve the aforementioned aspirations.

Meeting of the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania

PNT-cd Accepts Former CP Members Into Ranks

AU2708065590 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Aug 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the leadership of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party; place and date not given: "Declaration Regarding Former Members of the Communist Party]

[Text] The National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd] reaffirms its well-known position, according to which former members of the Communist Party may join our party without any discrimination. This does not apply to former members of the nomenklatura and to those who have committed serious crimes and violations toward the Romanian people. They are to be dealt with by the law and will have to account for their crimes in court.

The majority of former Romanian Communist Party [RCP] members joined that party because they had no other political option in the former totalitarian system. There was no opportunity to join democratic parties. Social, scientific, and cultural or other achievements and even the existence of their families and the situation of their children depended on their being RCP members.

We believe that being a former RCP member is no impediment to joining the PNT-cd.

The number of those who have profited from or abused their RCP membership is relatively small and any possible culpability is exclusively a matter to be dealt with by the court.

The essential condition for becoming a member of the PNT-cd, however, is that the applicant proves his adherence to the ideals of democracy and that he actually and firmly acts on implementing them. Any communist mentality and any attempt to make use of totalitarian methods are incompatible with being a member of the PNT-cd.

[signed] The PNT-cd leadership

List of New PNT-cd Leadership Published

AU2708102390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattribnuted report: "Leadership of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party"]

[Text] As reported, a meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd] was held on 16 and 17 August, whose agenda was to reorganize the central leadership of the party. Its new organizational structure is as follows:

PNT-cd Management, Coordination, and Control Bureau:

President of the Party: Corneliu Coposu

First Vice-President: Ion Diaconescu

Vice-President: Alexandru Ioan

Vice-President: Ioan Barbus

Vice-President: Constantin Constantinescu

General Secretary: Ioan Lup

Director of Central Departments: Gabriel Tepelea

Deputy general secretaries:

Management Bureau for Territorial Organization, Meetings, Conferences, Gatherings, and Archives: Barbu Pitigoi

Central Headquarters for Organization, General Records, Registration, and Membership Cards: Adrian Sirbu

Central Leadership of the Party:

Management, Coordination, and Control Bureau:

Alexandru Ioan, Ioan Barbus, Constantin Constantinescu, Corneliu Coposu, Ion Diaconescu, Ioan Lup, Gabriel Tepelea

Deputy General Secretaries: Barbu Pitigoi, Adrian Sirbu

Director of Cultural-Scientific Relations: Caius Iacob

Coordinating Director for Legal Questions: Vasile Gionea

Director of central newspaper: Paul Lazarescu

Directors of Central Departments (Secretaries): Constantin Amzuta, Matei Boila, Mircea Ciumara, Constantin Cristescu, Ion Dinu, Razvan Dobrescu, Valentin Gabrielescu, Serban Ghica, Mihai Ghica, Traian Iliescu, Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni, Sergiu Macarie, Ion Manea, Nicolae Marincus, Adrian Marino, Horia Oprica, Ilie Paunescu, Liviu Petrina, Iftene Pop, Vasile Radu, Ion Ratiu, Serban Sandulescu, Ulm Spineanu, and Vasile Vetisan.

Representative of former political detainees: Constantin Dumitrescu

Representatives of the special organization for youth affairs: Teodor Coseac, Constantin Ionescu, Stefan Mamulea, Ionut Munteanu, and Radu Popescu.

Representatives of special organizations for workers' affairs: Vasile Bercaru, Ion Lambru, Spirea Nastase, Dumitru Teodorescu, and Ion Totir.

Representatives of special organizations for women's affairs: Adriana Dragomirescu, Lia Gherasim-Lazar, Gilda Lazar, and Florica Raica.

Representatives of the press: Gheorghe Achim, Serban Madgearu

Protocol Director: Marius Luputiu

President of the Bucharest organization: Constantin Constantinescu

Candidate members of the Management Committee; deputy leaders of central departments: Constantin Badea, Dan Barbaresso, Valeriu Basarabeanu, Haralambie Becheanu, Ioan Caraza, Gavril Copil, Silviu Despra, Ion Diaconu, Nicolae Danciulescu, Costel Dumitrescu, Teodor Dunca, Pompei Groza, Renato Iliescu, Ion Iuga, Marcela Ion, Petrica Iordache, Victor Isac, Vasile Joanta, Dan Lazar, Aurel Ludosan, Vasile Lupu, Coriolan Luputiu, Pompiliu Macarescu, Mircea Mihalcea, Teodor Nor, Mircea Oanta, Petre I. Oprea, Cristian Pavaluca, Emil Popescu, Petre Popovici, Stefan Petcu, Andrei Radulescu, Mircea Roman, Ioan Simu, Stefan Sorin, Stelian Popa, Vasile Valusescu, and Vichentie Zagan.

Department Counselors:

Elsa Anca, Dorin Anton, Simion Avram, Ion Bourceanu, Marian Buca, Ioan Ciubreag, Gheorghe Comanescu, Augustin Dobreanu, Stelian Dragomir, Mihai Grigoriu, Felicia Haica, Teodora Hudita, Andrei Iacovescu, Minodora Ilie, Gheorghe Jurebie, Mircea Lupan, Achim Maria, Mihail Mihai, Gavril Molnar, Adrian Nicoara, Ion Popeaca, Ioana Popescu, Mariana Raducanescu, Florin Radulescu, Mircea Savu, Paul Schuster, Dumitru Secara, Ion Serban, Dumitru Suvagau, Iosif Ton, and Mircea Simion.

The PNT-cd permanent delegation incorporates the Management Committee, candidate members of the Management Committee (deputy directors of departments), the party's parliament members, the chairmen of the county and Bucharest district organizations, the management committees of the special organizations for youth, workers' and women's affairs, the presidents of professional and auxiliary organizations, as well as the elected delegates of the county and Bucharest district organizations.

New Political Group 'Democratic Union' Set Up

AU2708141690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1043 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—A new meeting of the eight small parties that have decided to merge into the "Democratic Union", a new centre political formation, was held on August 24, in Bucharest. Not represented in the parliament, they have been centre-, centre-right or even right-oriented so far, considering at least the way they have acted.

In the 20 May elections, out of these political formations, the Party of Democratic Union was given the greatest number of votes: 14,000 (0.1 percent of all voters) for the Senate and 16,000 (0.12 percent) for the Chamber of Deputies, as against 100,000 as were necessary for a seat of senator and about 30,000 for a deputy. "The elections", says Nicu Stancescu, chairman of the above mentioned party, "showed that the centre is more to the citizens' liking".

The other parties that have planned the merger are: Liberal Socialist Party (chairman Nicolae Cerveni); Democrat Party (chairman Virgil Vita); Republican Party of Romanians' Unity (chairman Pavel Ghiban);

Progressive Democratic Party (chairman Ion Uta); Free Democratic Party (chairman Nica Leon); Christian Social-Democratic Party (chairman Constantin Visinescu); Party for Honouring the Revolution Heroes and National Salvation (chairman Ion Antonescu).

The merger congress is set for October. Until then, the new party is led by a steering board made up of the eight parties' chairmen.

The Democratic Union has also invited other parties that share its political option, as well as all the intellectuals, workers and peasants that have not been politically or socially organized so far, to a dialogue for "strengthening this political nucleus and structuring a strong political formation of alternative, credible and constructive opposition".

14 parties have participated in preliminary discussions on that subject-matter so far.

Observers have noticed the tendency of small parties to group together. Two other unions have been born so far, i.e. the centre "New Romania" national alliance, made up of the formation bearing the same name and of the Romanian National Party (not represented in the parliament), and a Centre-Left Union.

Dailies Claim Censorship Exists on TV

AU2708143790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1140 GMT 27 Aug 90

["Media—Does the Romanian TV Censure the Prime Minister?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—Two largely circulated Bucharest dailies, ADEVARUL and AZI, note rather ironically that the interview granted by Prime Minister Petre Roman last week with the Romanian Television was censored.

The dailies that have found the shorthand record, reproduce the skipped parts of which we give the following below, in consideration of their significance.

Questioned whether he "ever had the intention to turn back to the past", the prime minister answered:

"Never. I think this temptation is inadmissible. But this brings to my mind a phrase by Nietzche, the philosopher who so accurately grasped the social psychology, a commonsense phrase which reads 'You must not, with one gesture, give the same job to one whom you despise and one whom you are afraid of'. What do I mean by this is that there are two possible tendencies: There is the tendency we are afraid of, because we are in charge, afraid of unemployment. And this tendency is associated with any transition to the market economy. And there is the tendency we actually despise, which we do not credit with anything—the return to the old structures. Don't let us associate them."

Answering a question about the "temptation of an iron arm, the Jaruzelski kind", the Romanian prime minister opined: "I don't think it could do more than we have set ourselves to."

Answering another question, about the purchase by the Tarom Airlines of three airbus aircraft, the prime minister notes inter alia: "Foreign investors come to Romania. But they want to find here a legal framework—more or less good but clear, safe, so that they should not have to go to ten places just to come back where they started.... And here, for the time being, what is essential is the government's impact."

Parliament To Discuss 'Vienna Award' 29 Aug

AU2708182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1634 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—The Standing Bureau of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate convene the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament for 29 August on the commemoration of 50 years since the Vienna Award.

Romanian-Bulgarian Pollution Situation Viewed

AU2808091990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1918 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Interview with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu by Mircea Rucareanu; place and date not given: "Romanian-Bulgarian Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection"—recorded]

[Text] [Rucareanu] We would like to start our discussion today with an issue with which our listeners are already familiar—that is, Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation in the field of environmental protection, an issue which—as is known—is currently being discussed by the two sides.

[Chebeleu] Indeed, the issue of Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation in the field of environmental protection is connected with the prevention of pollution in the areas close to our state borders. The responsible groups in the two countries have focused on this issue for several years.

In the past two years, several meetings of government commissions have taken place in Romania and Bulgaria. During these meetings the sides agreed on several actions, such as concluding a convention on environmental protection in the area that is close to the Romanian-Bulgarian border. One of the measures was to set up a commission which includes the two countries' experts in the field of environmental protection; the commission had the task of carrying out a joint survey in the Giurgiu-Ruse area, because the Bulgarian side claimed that the source of pollution in the town of Ruse is the Giurgiu industrial platform. As a matter of fact, in this respect a broad press campaign was carried out in Bulgaria. Although the survey showing that no chemical emanation was registered was carried out jointly, according to joint methods, and with equal participation of Bulgarian experts along with Romanian ones, the

Bulgarian side refused to accept the respective conclusions. The creation of another commission of experts—also a joint commission—followed and their findings did not show pollution on the Romanian side. The Bulgarian side again refused, however, to accept the findings of their own experts who participated in the action of measuring the degree of noxiousness. The Bulgarian side continued to claim what was circulating in the Bulgarian mass media—namely, that the source of pollution in the town of Ruse originates on Romanian territory.

As a neighborly gesture, the Romanian side halted the production of chlorine and, although the Bulgarian authorities expressed gratitude for this gesture, they continued to claim that the source of pollution is on Romanian territory.

Concomitantly with these technical measures, groups of experts belonging to the Foreign Ministries of the two countries started negotiating a convention between the two countries' governments, but its text could not be entirely completed because of some issues that were left unsolved and therefore, the convention could not be signed up to this very moment.

[Rucareanu] We know that Romania advanced certain requests to the Bulgarian side regarding a decision of the Bulgarian Government to build nuclear-electric power plants right near Romania. We would like to inform our listeners exactly what these requests were.

[Chebeleu] Indeed, from the very beginning, as early as 1974, the Romanian side drew attention to the danger posed to the Romanian population in the southern part of our country caused by the building of nuclear power plants at Kozloduy—plants which resemble the Chernobyl-type of power plant; that is, one without a protecting shield—and the danger posed by the nuclear power plants built, or which are being built, at Belene. These nuclear power plants were located at a distance of 1 and half kilometer from the Romanian border on the Danube, in spite of the fact that, at that time, the Romanian side expressed its disapproval of this action.

In case of an accident resembling the one at Chernobyl, the life, health, and the activity of the people in the localities on the northern side of the Danube would be very seriously endangered.

As a result of this fact, the Romanian side insisted that all environmental protection problems should be included in regulations and be negotiated. Although Bulgaria admitted the danger, more or less, it minimized this danger posed by its nuclear power plants. The Bulgarian side did not take a committed stand and tried to systematically avoid the discussion of the problem or tried to postpone solutions to the problem.

Finally, the Bulgarian side accepted in principle that the issue of nuclear power plants should also be included in the convention. However, this has not yet been accomplished. As a matter of fact, this is the major obstacle on the path of concluding this convention.

During the 4 June 1990 meeting between the prime ministers of the two countries' governments held in Bucharest, the sides agreed to set up a joint commission of governmental experts, which should examine the technical and technological situation of the chemical installations at the Giurgiu and Ruse industrial platforms with a view to finding out the possible sources of noxious emanation. They also agreed that on the basis of their discoveries, the two countries' governments should take measures, as the case requires, of closing or temporarily halting the respective installations. The sides also discussed possibilities to reestablish quality parameters for exchange of gases in the atmosphere. Similar measures and procedures were established for the nuclear power plants on the Bulgarian side of the Danube. At the same time, the sides agreed that their Foreign Ministries should step up the act of drafting the text of the convention.

[Rucareanu] Now it is the end of August, would you tell us what the current situation is like?

[Chebeleu] The situation can currently be summed up as follows: first of all the joint commission of governmental experts, which was set up for the Giurgiu Ruse area, has carried out the necessary survey and analysis, and they will draw their conclusion on the basis of their findings and will present it to the government.

As we have learned from Romanian experts, their survey shows that the pollution of the town of Ruse is caused by that town's own resources and it does not originate on Romanian territory. Thus, the demands of the Bulgarian side to break up the chloride deposit from the Giurgiu industrial platform is not justified.

Secondly, the Romanian side paid a visit to the nuclear power plants on the Bulgarian side of the Danube. The conclusions of the Romanian experts resulted in the request to close down the 4 groups without protecting shields in Kozloduy, in order to disable them, to carry out a survey at the Belene group, and to halt the operation of siting new nuclear power plants at Belene.

The third point is that the discussions for drafting the text of the convention have resumed. Up to this moment, however, we could not break the deadlock, because the Bulgarian delegation has not only failed to show a flexible position, but also reverted to certain proposals that it made previously.

Recently a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation was received at the Romanian parliament by a delegation led by a vice president of the Deputies Chamber. The Bulgarian delegation handed over a document in which it essentially calls on the Romanian side to close the chloride deposit in Giurgiu. Discussions followed and the Romanian experts explained that in reality the source of pollution in Ruse is not on Romanian territory. Certainly, we are waiting for the joint commission of experts to present its conclusions and the conclusions of the joint survey.

The Romanian side insisted that in light of the decision made by the two prime ministers, all sources of pollution should be taken into consideration and the dimensions of the potential danger that the activity of another [word indistinct] implies should also be taken into account and all problems—those which the Bulgarian side is concerned about or which the Romanian side is concerned or worried about—should be settled, without evading or postponing any issue that might favor one side or the other.

In our view a comprehensive and concomitant settlement of problems is a reasonable and equitable way to treat problems connected with environmental protection between two neighboring countries.

British MP Meets Romanian Officials in Bucharest

AU2708143190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1154 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—Richard Balfe, member of parliament of Great Britain, now in Romania as guest of the Romanian Inter-Parliamentary Group, met on Sunday at the Romanian Senate headquarters with N.S. Dumitru, National Salvation Front [FSN] deputy chairman and deputy chairman of the Romanian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, president of the NSF Parliamentary Group in the Chamber of Deputies, Archmandrite Simeon Tatu, abbot of the Plumbuita Abbey, senator, and Emil Tocaci, deputy chairman of the Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, member of the NLP [National Liberal Party] Group in the Romanian Senate. They discussed aspects of the process of democratization of the political life in Romania in the context of the multiparty system and questions of human rights observance.

The same day MP Richard Balfe met with Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party, vice-president of Romania's Senate.

The British parliamentarian was informed about the organization of the political parties in Romania, their way of participation in the parliamentary life, in the articulation of the country's new legislative system.

Also on August 26 Richard Balfe met with Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. He also had talks with executives of the Commission on Human Rights, Cults and National Minorities' Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies.

The British MP assessed as one of the most encouraging facts about Romania that in spite of the over 40 years of totalitarian regime there really are people in the country thinking democratically and ready to build democracy. That statement was made to a ROMPRES reporter. He added that his meeting with Radu Campeanu allowed him to assess the situation in this country. He said he would be pleased to meet Radu Campeanu again when he visits Strasbourg in September. He hoped the NSF and HDUR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] representatives too, would call at the West-European Parliament in Strasbourg. The British MP said he was sure he would know a lot about Romania by visiting Bucharest, Tirgu Mures and by having more meetings during his Romanian sojourn.

Serbia To Lose $500 Million in Iraq Blockade

AU2708171690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 90 p 6

[S. Popovic report: "One Billion Dollars Damage"]

[Text] Belgrade—About 100 Yugoslav enterprises are involved in Iraq at the moment and are engaged in carrying out contract work worth $1.7 billion. The initial estimates concerning the situation in the Gulf show that the withdrawal of Yugoslav enterprises from Iraq, in conformity with the UN resolution, would lead to a loss of contracts worth about $1 billion, of which Serbia alone would lose $500 million. Even more uncertain is the payment of debts amounting to $1.2 billion ($400 million for Serbia). The value of equipment and mechanization which is in Iraq at the moment is estimated at $50 million, of which $30 million comes from the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

This is part of the report on the international economic boycott of Iraq and the possible consequences for the SFRY and Serbia which was on the agenda of yesterday's session of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

It was stated that the problem of finding employment in Yugoslavia for the approximately 10,000 workers who are employed in Iraq under conditions of very low investment activity and caring for members of their families was a special issue which required a specific response and vast financial resources.

It was stressed that the international blockade of Iraq hit Serbia the most because of its great involvement in dealings with this country. That is to say, in the last few years, Iraq has been one of the most important economic partners of the Socialist Republic of Serbia among the developing countries, particularly in the field of investment construction. Apart from carrying out investment construction, enterprises in Serbia have delivered complete installations for industrial projects.

Continued Coverage of Uprising in Knin Region

Role Played by FEC, Army Viewed

AU2408192090 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Dunja Ujevic commentary: "Three Messages From Belgrade"]

[Text] Four days following the attempt to occupy Croatia, the federal government showed itself to a nation. The session of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], convened to examine the current situation in the country in connection with the events in the Knin region, was an opportunity for Prime Minister Ante Markovic to appear in public for the first time since recent events (until that moment, the Croatian Government had not managed to contact him). The impression that could be gathered from the video accompanying the government's statement—that the conversation was very amusing (Markovic smiling throughout the film and looking at his watch and Loncar throwing papers to somebody over the heads of several members of the government)—is marred by the fact that the statement was issued after the government's session had lasted two days, and by the way the statement was worded. It is a fact, however, that that statement has finally summed up Belgrade's official view of Croatia (Borisav Jovic issued a statement on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and Vuk Obradovic presented the view of the Army).

What kind of message was sent to Croatia from these three directions?

Had it not been for the fact that the Army MiG planes turned back the helicopters of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs during their flight over Croatia, it would have been clear that the Army, resorting to political evaluations of the events, has retained the right to interfere (and judge) given to it by the former communist regime. Accordingly, assuming the right to dispense equal doses of political raps on the knuckles to the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party and the legitimate Croatian authorities, the Army proclaimed its striving to keep protecting a Yugoslavia which no longer exists. Despite all subsequent denials, however, the MiG planes did appear; Croatia was sent a clear message that the Yugoslav People's Army is not there to protect the Croatian people.

Mr. Jovic was more direct. He said that one cannot question the right of the citizens, or of a people, to declare themselves politically or to act politically, because that would be contrary to democracy. He pointed out that the SFRY Presidency will use all its constitutional and legal rights to prevent bloodshed and civil war. Because he failed, on that occasion, to make a political and legal assessment of the present "declarations and acts," Mr. Jovic could not say that what happened in Croatia is contrary to the Constitution of the state he is heading. Thereby, the Yugoslav president unambiguously sided with Great Serbian policy, which builds its democracy on the ruins of Yugoslavia.

True, the FEC did say what Jovic omitted—that private declarations made by citizens cannot change relations between and within sociopolitical communities, nor can autonomies be formed contrary to the federal and the republican constitutions. To this extent, the stand concerning the political (territorial) autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia is clear. According to the method "a layer of pastry, then a layer of the filling," however, the federal government added that "the citizens have the constitutional right to make political stands through personal declarations with a view to realizing their interests and expressing their national affiliation and their own culture." It is not completely clear what kind of rights result from this formulation in the specific situation in Croatia. The result is that the FEC recognizes the right of the

Serbs in Croatia to a cultural autonomy (and there is no need for that, because that right had been already given to them by the Croatian Government) and that it recognizes their right to be—Serbs.

This is absurd—albeit logical—in the situation in which the FEC does not make any political assessment of the appearance of autonomy in Croatia, although it is its job to do so. The Army does, although it is not its job to do so. It is, therefore, interesting to follow the way the Yugoslav press reported this statement. Everybody has extracted from it the thesis that suited him and considered himself justified.

Why is the FEC making a layer cake? Probably for the same reason that it failed to protect the constitutional order in the past (remember Kosovo). Moreover, a consistent protection of a law-governed state in the present period in Yugoslavia directly collides with the aspiration harbored by Mr. Markovic: to conserve the Yugoslav territory through party activity and to cover it by his own authority (The competences of the republican leaderships are not desirable along this road). Markovic, however, is running a really great risk. This game cannot be played without a new totalitarianism and conservativism, which, in the name of a new Yugoslavia, he would have to get rid of. In this respect, the experience one has with similar experiments in the past are not in his favor.

Jovic's Statement Deemed 'Disturbing'

AU2708095590 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed editorial: "Jovic's 'Democratic Road'"]

[Text] The statement that Borisav Jovic has made is contrary to the policy of the democratically elected authorities in Croatia. It is also contrary to Croatian laws, and is therefore another in a series of provocations and acts that are inciting passions, this time from the highest federal level. However, this statement is not contrary to what Dr. Jovic has been doing and saying since he was elected president of the SFRY Presidency (although his public statements did include some contradictions). Instead of making it easier, Dr. Jovic is making it even more difficult for the Croatian leadership to solve the problems. He therefore (once again) confirms that he defends the interests of only one nation—and does so as a representative of the outdated communist ideology, which means that he serves the national-Bolshevik policy of Slobodan Milosevic to which even Chetnik views are not alien. Jovic's warning that one should "solve political problems in a democratic way" is more than cynical and disturbing. Is it, therefore, in a "democratic way" that one should negate the Croatian (and the Yugoslav!) Constitution and laws, as well as the legal protection of order in Croatia!? If Colonel Vuk Obradovic speaks about the protection of brotherhood and unity and the SFRY Constitution, if the SFRY Presidency is the military commander of the Armed Forces and Jovic is president of that Presidency, how much confidence in Belgrade do we have left?

Parties Appeal for 'Trust,''Tolerance'

AU2508154390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Proclamation of the Representatives of Croatian Parties"]

[Text] Zagreb—Following the latest political tensions in Croatia, the representatives of Croatian parties held a meeting on the premises of the Croatian Social Liberal Party in Zagreb on Tuesday [21 August]. They drafted a joint proclamation addressed to all citizens of Croatia.

Rising Above All Differences

In the history of peoples there are moments which have required them to rise above all political differences and antagonism, moments which require the unity of all responsible political forces. Croatia, the proclamation states, is today in such a historic moment. Although the circumstances are not as dramatic as they were two days ago when the decision was made to invite all Croatian political parties to hold a joint meeting, the danger of attacks on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia, and on its citizens' peaceful and free life in equality, has not passed yet. One should not have any illusions that the great Serbian hegemonistic forces and the forces of the old regime will abandon the intention of threatening the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia, and causing confusion and clashes among its citizens. It is realistic to expect that they will carry out new actions, and particularly encourage interethnic clashes in Croatia with the purpose of destabilizing our republic and threatening its territorial integrity and the newly established democracy.

Removing Fear and Mistrust

Not going into all historic roots and current causes of the Croatian-Serbian disagreements, the representatives of the Croatian parties stress that they are aware of the fact that anxiety and fear today reign in some communities with mixed populations. This fear and anxiety are the consequences of the actions taken by the scenarists of the mass psychosis. This is why, the representatives of Croatian parties stress, we consider the creation of an atmosphere of trust, and the removal of fear and anxiety, as one of our main tasks. By creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance we will contribute to overcoming the present crisis situation. In addition, we promise our public that we will defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia, that we will defend and develop democracy and its institutions in Croatia and civil freedoms and the equal rights of all Croatian citizens. We regard this as the duty of all citizens of Croatia, regardless of their political affiliations. We are also taking it upon ourselves to use all our ability to find answers to the questions posed by the dramatic crisis which we are going through. This means not only that will we provide help to the Croatian Government, but that we will also actively participate in setting and realizing all programs whose purpose is to preserve the attained democracy and the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, and the freedoms of all of its citizens.

Support to Croatian Government

The representatives of Croatian parties call on all citizens to return weapons and refrain from any form of violence.

The representatives of the parties support the organs of authority in Croatia, and demand that the Croatian Government rally all political forces for the defense of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia.

Document on 'Attack' Publicized

AU2508142790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 90 p 3

[Z. Tarle and I. Radovanovic report: "How Raskovic and Babic Were 'Arrested'"]

[Text] Knin—At a news conference attended only by Ognjen Ignjatovic, "communications officer" of the Serbian Democratic Party, the National Council, and the Knin Communal Assembly, a document was publicized which contained the scenario for an attack on Knin in the early hours of 21 August. It can be seen from the telex, which was received from the militia station in Drnis, that a plan existed to carry out an attack on Knin from the direction of Sinj and Drnis. Seventy people in uniform were gathered in the militia station in Drnis and issued weapons. A command was also set up to direct activities, headed by Ante Bujas, secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Sibenik, who also commands the police stations in this part of Croatia. The members of this command were Nikola Vukusic from Sibenik, Zoran Perica from Drnis, Mica Grubac, and Milan Lukavac. Also present were the section commanders Gojko Stojakovic, Drago Rajic, and Mirko Pletkovic. Sections were set up which contained 10 militiamen each.

According to this document, Ante Bujas allegedly said the following at the meeting of the command:

"Comrades, it was reported on the third newscast that Jovan Raskovic has been arrested and Dr. Milan Babic has probably also been. The SFRY Presidency has made the decision to outlaw this activity in Knin, and the forces of the Yugoslav People's Army and the police have been ordered to disarm groups around Knin because all this is unlawful. Armed groups are being considered as bandits, and comrades from Knin—militiamen from our ranks who have deserted—will go before a court and be tried for high treason."

The rest of this document is phrased in the same way and it can be seen that the whole action was supposedly ordered by Josip Boljkovac, Croatian minister of police, in cahoots with the Croatian Government.

After the meeting of the command directing the action, the whole plan was presented to the militiamen present. According to the plan, Knin was to be attacked from several directions by armed vehicles, and tear gas was to be used and people were to be taken from behind barricades. The militiamen were told that they could use any means because this involved action to disperse bandits.

There was a real uproar in the militia station after the plan was announced, and the first to react were members of the reserve units who included both Serbs and Croats. When Nikola Vukisic, commander of the militia from Sibenik, said that those who were not ready for action could lay down their arms, everyone present threw down their personal weapons at the same time. Zoran Perica, Drnis militia commander, entered the room with an automatic rifle and then a general uproar began in which some of the men moved toward him and Perica ran away with his weapon.

Because we have not been able to receive from any official statement from Ante Bujas on the events in the Drnis police station, although we have been trying and will continue to try, it will remain unclear what in fact happened on 20 August, at about 0200.

At the news conference, Ognjen Ignjatovic advocated that the public be properly informed in Knin, particularly since the publication of these details about the events in Drnis—which definitely make it clear that an attack on citizens was being prepared—will cause great concern among citizens. Dr. Milan Babic is supposedly going from village to village calming people down.

A report has also been received that Croatian Television is preparing to dismiss Dana Narandzic from Gospic, and apart from talk about this document, most comments have again been made about reporting by the Croatian press and Croatian Television on the events in Knin.

Particular bitterness was caused by the statement made by Ivo Govorcin on Croatian Television that he had been shot at by members of village watches, and that he had seen in a bar in the village of Kovacic 100 drunk and well-armed people with 500 wine bottles on one of the tables.

Tourists Reportedly Leaving Coast; Fear Turmoil

AU2608172290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 90 p 1

["E.K."-signed report: "Pictures of Barricades as Souvenirs"]

[Text] Zagreb—All roads leading out of Yugoslavia and its border crossings toward Western Europe are characterized by general chaos. Foreign tourists are leaving the Adriatic coast en masse. This led to a several hours- long delay at border crossings yesterday. On Sunday [19 August] morning, several ferries from Split carried more than a thousand Italian tourists who were "rushing" home. In contrast to the general throng to leave our country, the number of cars entering our country is getting smaller and smaller.

Many tourists, who are obviously frightened with development in the political situation in Croatia, are cutting short their vacation in Yugoslavia. On their way to the border, many of them are unfortunately passing by the barricades, whose remains could still be seen on the roads near Benkovac and Knin, and are taking pictures of long lines of cars and stone barricades on the roads as "souvenirs."

The greatest chaos reins in bus service which came to a complete halt on Saturday. It started to gradually normalize on Sunday through the use of alternative routes. Many bus companies have stopped operating on the routes to the coast via Lika. This resulted in a large number of people rushing for trains on Sunday.

Air transportation, as we have learned, is operating normally. Extra flights have been introduced to take foreign tourists out of our country.

Regarding the situation, Slobodan Kastela, president of the Croatian Tourist Board, said:

"This political situation will adversely affect our tourism. Columns of tourists are leaving from the trouble area. Up to now, we have always been proud of the security situation in this part of the country, but the shock which the foreign tourists experienced this time will be fatal for the next season.

"The columns of foreign tourists were yesterday joined by a large number of domestic tourists. One could say that we have not had such traffic jams on the main roads in Croatia for decades."

Delegates Protest Kosovo Assembly's Suspension

AU2708060190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "We Do Not Represent the Stands of the Assembly of Serbia"]

[Text] Belgrade—Four delegates of the SFRY Assembly from Kosovo have sent a letter to the president of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces which says among other things:

"We, the undersigned, four of the eight delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, feel obliged to write you and point out the following:

"We are sorry that the session [of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces on 4 August] was interrupted because we were unable to put forward the stands that we had presented to you in a letter of 13 July 1990. These concerned our future work as delegates in the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces after the adoption of the law on the cessation of the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo by the Assembly of Serbia.

"Considering once again that the law of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the cessation of the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is unconstitutional, as well as the unconstitutional interpretation by the Legislative and Legal Commission of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces that the delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo can work on the basis of the assent of an Assembly that did not elect us, we are led to the logical conclusion that blocking the work of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province in fact blocks the work of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces regarding issues on which the chamber decides on the basis of the consensus of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces.

"Considering that at the next sessions of the committee—of which we are members—and the session of the chamber, delegates will be discussing and passing important laws and acts which are decided upon on the basis of the view and consent of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces, we would like to once again inform you that we cannot objectively represent the views and stands of the assembly that has not elected us. Therefore we are asking you to allow us in the chamber to put forward our view of our position as delegates in the chamber."

Daut Jasanica, Fehmi Nalbani, Bajram Arifi, Gani Miftari.

Kosovo Trade Unionist on Strike Plans, Hopes

AU2708202590 Skopje VLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 24 Aug 90 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Hajrulla Gorani, president of the Union of Independent Kosovo Trade Unions, by Emin Azemi; place and date not given: "We Defend Workers' Interests"]

[Text] [Azemi] What in your view will be the effects of the general strike which the Union of Independent Kosovo Trade Unions has announced for 3 September?

[Gorani] The effects of the strike must be seen as a protest and a warning to the state, making it think where this maltreatment of Albanian workers is leading. This is in essence the meaning of this trade union protest.

Workers are being beaten and dismissed from their jobs. There is national discrimination and discrimination according to political beliefs. These measures are forbidden by international conventions. Convention 111 defines discrimination, and states that trade unions have the right to protest if the point of discrimination is reached.

Those who call this a political strike can think of no other way to discredit it, and contradict themselves. They have in fact been put in a dilemma. The opposition we are mounting is trade union opposition.

[Azemi] All right, but do you privately believe that there will be a positive result, if this state at last realizes where all these draconian measures against Albanian workers are leading?

[Gorani] The state has begun to realize. However, it pretends not to be very worried. There is no state in the world which is indifferent to a work stoppage. The economic, social, and political effects and the effects within Yugoslavia and at an international level will have very harmful consequences. Do not forget that unnecessary expenditure has brought down the world's famous empires, like the Roman, Turkish, and Soviet empires. No state can meet unnecessary expenditure, however economically strong it may be. The work force becomes impoverished, and the state resists, but will be convinced that what we say points to the best solution.

[Azemi] How aware are you of other examples of general strikes in Europe and the world? If there have been such strikes, what were their causes and consequences?

[Gorani] A general strike is a major challenge for a trade union. General strikes may be won or lost. Our strike is not what you might call a classic general strike. It is not a strike organized from above. It is trade union organizations, associations, and branches which want this strike. We have been slow. It is precisely for this reason that I say that the general strike will be total and all-embracing.

[Azemi] Even in operating theaters?

[Gorani] We have provided for some exceptions, such as emergency services and some very necessary spheres of production.

[Azemi] Have there been general other strikes in Europe and the world?

[Gorani] There have been, and they were common before the war. General strikes even take place today. However, ours is a special case, because the general strike will take place only in one region, although such a thing should extend across an entire country. However, because Yugoslavia is a mosaic of small states, we are striking in Kosovo and not throughout Yugoslavia because we are a different kind of trade union from the Yugoslav trade unions. We are an independent trade union, while the Yugoslav unions are state trade unions which are trying to transform themselves into allegedly independent trade unions.

[Azemi] To what extent are world trade unions aware of the Kosovo general strike, and will you enjoy the support of these trade union movements?

[Gorani] We will inform international trade union organizations about our general strike. However, we are not members of any international trade union organization, because such membership requires a lengthy procedure. Not just anybody whom it pleases can join. Until lately, even Yugoslavia had barely any international trade union membership.

Besides international trade unions, we will also inform the Yugoslav unions, although these are not independent. Regardless of the fact that we do not agree with them, we will inform them. Meanwhile their solidarity does not exist and is not necessary.

[Azemi] Under normal circumstances, trade unions are known for helping workers to solve problems of a social and material nature. Under the circumstances we now have in Kosovo, the trade union is compelled to help workers with a strike. What does this mean?

[Gorani] We are not helping workers with a strike. We are merely articulating the workers' opposition with a strike. The fact is that the workers themselves are demanding a general strike. Because the trade union is a workers' organization, it is helping them in every way. For instance, every trade union organization among us in Kosovo has its solidarity council which looks after legal, material, social, and moral assistance. The strike is the trade union's final weapon, final instrument, and final tool for realizing its aims, in this case for the protection of rights at work, the defense of civil rights, and the defense of democratic institutions. The independent trade unions in Kosovo rely on these principles. In the end, these principles are the noblest principles of the free and independent trade unions of Europe. This is how workers achieve their status in society, and can articulate their demands with determination. In modern societies, trade unions are rallying points round which workers gather. We are inaugurating such a pluralist trade union and trade union pluralism for the first time
.

We will make use of strikes and protests. The previous trade union in Kosovo was merely an instrument and a cog, and stifled the workers of Kosovo. It was not a genuine trade union, but was a trade union only in name. We have founded a real trade union.

[Azemi] Professor, the security services in Pristina organized a "reception" for you a few days ago. Tell us what happened at this "reception" and what was said.

[Gorani] It was said at this reception that I am overthrowing the state and that the state of Serbia does not allow such subversive activity. However, they were left speechless when I asked them to give me the number of their agent, so that I can call him too when we hold a meeting so that he can see and hear what kind of "subversive" activity we engage in. We and the security service employees found a common language on only one point: When I asked them whether they trusted their own trade union, they replied that they did not.

This discussion with the security services had its own absurdity. On one hand, they said: You are a university professor. Why should you get mixed up with a trade union? On the other hand, they said: Look, this is a sensitive matter. Do not step out of doors on Monday, because we are going to draw up a criminal charge sheet and are coming to fetch you.

Momcilo Trajkovic [deputy chairman of the Serbian Executive Council] has said publicly that what we are doing is a criminal act. He has produced the idea that the factories and other institutions in Kosovo can work even without the Albanians. He thereby shows that he will ignore the Albanians and that he is quite content with ethnic purity without them. I tell you now that the Albanians cannot be ignored, and there can be no life not only in Kosovo but in Yugoslavia without the Albanians. The sooner they realize this, the better for them and the better for Yugoslavia.

It is impossible and absurd for a people to wish to develop and affirm themselves, and for this desire to be thwarted. It is against all the laws of society and nature. However, there is a saying in the Bible. "Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do."

[Azemi] We have been told about a serious matter concerning ore extraction in some mines of Kosovo. What can you tell us about this, and what its consequences will be?

[Gorani] There is a danger of flooding in the mines. If they are flooded, it will be difficult to resume production. In many places, the pumps for removing water are not working at all, and the accumulated water could flood the mines. There have also been recent trends toward reducing mineral production. Ajvalija has more ore, but those in charge are not interested in Kisnica and Novo Brdo. They are thinking of flooding Ajvalija and plundering it. It has large ore reserves, and is highly profitable. It is not a matter of the rational mining of ore based on the code of practice of mineral extraction, but of what the Germans would call Raub, or robbery. Nobody cares in the least that the mine is being damaged.

Albanians in Montenegro Found Democratic Forum

AU2708185690 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The Democratic Forum of Albanians in Montenegro [Forumi Demokratik i Shqiptareve ne Mal te Zi] was founded yesterday in Ulcinj. At its first plenary meeting, the Forum defined the principles of its activities and elected a nine-member Presidium. Gjergj Gjokaj, a teacher from Tuzi, was elected as the Forum's president.

Serbia Formally Becomes 'Multiparty Republic'

LD2708163990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Representatives of 15 political parties were presented today in the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly with certificates endorsing their inclusion in the register of this republic's parties.

This ceremony has formally promoted Serbia to the ranks of a multiparty republic. The parties, which have so far met all legal requirements for entering "the party register," are entitled to full legitimacy and the right to political activity. These are: Socialist Party of Serbia, Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove], Serbian National Renaissance [Srpska Narodna Obnova], Serbian St. Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka], People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka], Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije], Democratic Forum [Demokratski Forum], All-Serbian World Alliance [Savez Svih Srba Sveta], Social-Democratic Alliance of Serbian Youth - New Democracy [Socijaldemokratski Savez Mladih Srbije - Nova Demokratija], Yugoslav Workers' Party [Radnicka Partija Jugoslavije], Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [Demokratska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara], Party of Private Businessmen and Farmers [Partija Samostalnih Privrednika i Seljaka], New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia [Novi Komunisticki Pokret Jugoslavije], and the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights in Yugoslavia - Yugoslav Party of Human Rights [Pokret za Zastitu Ljudskih Prava u Jugoslaviji - Stranka Ljudskih Prava Jugoslavije].

The republican secretary for justice and administration, Sreten Vladisavljevic, presented on behalf of the Serbian Government, the party representatives with the certificates. On this occasion he wished them success in reaching their goals through loyal political competition.

Poll on Popularity of Political Parties in Serbia

AU2408135390

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 17 August on page four carries a 3,000-word report by Aleksandra Saje and Boris Terzic on the results of a public opinion poll on the popularity of different political parties in Serbia, entitled "The Vote of the Undecided Will Decide."

The report does not explain how the poll was carried out, except that it was conducted between 20 and 25 July of this year, and that the sample consisted of 456 respondents.

The results of the poll are summarized in two bar charts and one pie chart as follows:

Table 1.

"If the multiparty elections were held tomorrow, who would you vote for?"

(bar chart depicting percentages)

	Serbia	Belgrade
1. Socialist Party of Serbia	33.6	26.6
2. Serbian Renewal Movement	9.65	5.65
3. Democratic Party	4.3	8.87
4. People's Radical Party	1.75	2.42
5. Other parties	4.93	7.26
6. None	17.55	11.29
7. Do not know	28.5	37.9

Table 2.

"Which party in Serbia would you not vote for? Would you ban any party in Serbia?"

(a bar chart depicting answers to two questions, in percentages, figures as published)

	No Vote	Ban
1. Socialist Party of Serbia	32.99	19.79
2. Serbian Renewal Movement	15.74	13.82
3. Serbian National Renewal	13.71	11.84
4. Serbian Chetnik Movement	31.98	27.63
5. Other parties	6.09	1.32

Table 3.

"The composition of a multiparty assembly based on the results of the poll"

(pie chart depicting percentages, "on the basis of those who expressed their view")

1. Socialist Party of Serbia	62.2
2. Serbian National Renewal	17.89
3. Democratic Party	8.54
4. People's Radical Party	3.23
5. Other parties	8.13

Macedonia's Gosev on Confederation, Serb Actions

AU2708090390 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 90 pp 12-14

[Interview with Petar Gosev, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation, by Iso Rusi; place and date not given: "There Are No Higher Aims"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rusi] How do you regard the intervention of militia at Prohor Pcinjski Monastery?

[Gosev] This is another error of the Serbian leadership committed against Macedonia and the Macedonians, because it continues to violate Macedonian identity and dignity. This cannot be to anybody's benefit, and even less to the benefit of the Serbian people and the mastering of the Yugoslav crisis. Therefore the outpourings of protests in Macedonia are quite understandable and justified, because in the context of everything that came "from Belgrade" at the address of Macedonia and Macedonian policy in the past two years, not much is needed for the cup to overflow. Seselj and his Chetniks, as well as Draskovic with his views about Macedonia would not worry us had we not recognized the same views among other politicians in Serbia.

[Rusi] At this moment, the most urgent question seems to be what is to happen to Yugoslavia. What should be the future federal state? The League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation is among those who have insisted on a federal system. Is it still realistic to talk about a federation?

[Gosev] It is true that we (the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation) and I personally used to believe that Yugoslavia should be organized as a modern union state of a federal nature. We believed that a state system proceeding from the basic principle of equality of peoples and nationalities, and from the original sovereignty of the members of the federation, offers the greatest chance for the development of each constituent part of this community and the union as a whole. In principle I still believe that this is the best solution from the economic, political, and military standpoints. Unfortunately, however, reality is taking a different course. Matters are happening which push us to seek different solutions and to work out different options for Macedonia, just as others are doing. On the one hand we have a base attempt made "in the name of a correction of some historic failures and shortcomings" and intended to spread political, cultural, and economic hegemonism, which is turning more and more into territorial hegemonism. On the other hand we have an extreme form of a peculiar anticivilizational separatism which breaks even those links among peoples and nations without which we simply are not a modern society and a community, but a historical relic which requires no special study because it is a long-known, outmoded thing and it is only a question of time when this relic will simply disappear. Under such circumstances, "small" Macedonia is searching for itself. In a situation when, among all the Yugoslav and even Balkan states, it found it most difficult to achieve its statehood and when a considerable part of its people still live unrecognized, without elementary human and national rights in the neighboring countries, some people within Yugoslavia threaten it that it will disappear, that it simply does not exist, or that it may exist only to the extent and in the way as decided by "its patron" on the basis of "his historic rights." Because of all this, it is no longer "heresy" in Macedonia to speak about a Yugoslav confederation, a confederal status of Macedonia within Yugoslavia, or about a completely sovereign state within the European community of nations. Therefore we explicitly wrote in our program that we will organize Macedonia as a sovereign state which accepts union with other peoples of Yugoslavia only on a voluntary and equal basis, and of course with the right of secession on the basis of the expressed will of its people.

Therefore, it seems that Yugoslavia is possible at this moment only as a union of sovereign states, with those delegated and agreed powers at the union level that each of the several members of the union is willing to delegate without pressure. It seems to me that the time has come when we can reach togetherness only "from the bottom up," agreeing on it stage by stage, without any pressure, imposition, use of force, favoring any interests, or imposing one's truth on other peoples as the only acceptable one. The time is over when an individual could not exist as a subject and could not freely express himself because of the alleged interests of various collectives, and so is the time when the interest of one people could be directed to be sacrificed for "higher" aims. [passage omitted]

[Rusi] Is there any possibility of a "cohesive force," such as, for instance, the Army, "taking the matters into its own hands" in "saving" federal Yugoslavia?

[Gosev] Some people in the Army circles have said loud and clear that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] "will not calmly watch as Yugoslavia disintegrates." If the JNA would interfere to "save" the Yugoslav federation, I think that it would be the worst of the worst solutions. Only in that case would Yugoslavia definitively disintegrate, both momentarily and in the long run. I do not even want to think about it. The JNA has its place in the system, and its role in democratic societies is well known. Yugoslavia may exist only as a voluntary democratic community and in no other way.

[Rusi] The forces are strengthening that take more and more care about their national interests, and one talks more and more frequently about an internal reshaping of Yugoslavia, about a kind of restoration of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. One knows what would be "the lot" of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia according to this plan. The question arises whether Macedonia can go it alone?

[Gosev] It is quite certain that this is a matter of crazy ideas. The idea about a "kingdom" is perhaps possible, but only if that "kingdom" will be much, much smaller than the one of 1918. In any case it is not possible at the expense of Macedonia and probably not at the expense of other peoples in Yugoslavia.

Regarding the question of whether Macedonia can go it alone, the answer is affirmative, and the question is indeed superfluous. The Macedonians existed even when they had to pay a tribute in blood and a tribute in sweat and pain. Nothing was granted to them, much was taken away from them: territory, part of the population, and a great deal of property. They nevertheless survived. They are now more self-aware than ever, and they are ready to fight to preserve their bit of freedom, honesty, and pride, as never before in their painful history. [passage omitted]

[Rusi] Both the old and the new parties seem to have very similar stands on the Macedonian question. Is a delayed homogenization of the Macedonians under way? The Bloc of Right even talks about a territorial unification of Macedonia. What do you think about this?

[Gosev] If others revive their national symbols and national identity, it is not strange (in such an atmosphere in this region) that the Macedonians do the same, sooner or later. The nationalism infection is spreading in Yugoslavia like a specter, and how could Macedonia remain out of this? Adventurers and amateurs have unfortunately got their chance in leading the state. Some naive people, or adventurists, see their chance to climb to the throne of power in our republic, too, and they have launched the slogans about Macedonia's unification, about an annexation of Thesalonike, and so forth.

I believe that all this will be put in its proper place. The people will understand which policy suits them.

However, nobody can neglect the problem of Macedonians in the neighboring countries any longer: neither the federal organs nor the Macedonian leadership can do so. Our stands are clear and resolute in this respect. We will work energetically on the implementation of Macedonians' rights in the neighboring countries, and we will demand cultural and spiritual unification with their mother country. However, this has nothing to do with the processes of national homogenization within the country and within the republics. Those matters are different. In the latter case, it is a matter of nationalism, and in the former, a matter of a struggle for elementary human and national rights. [passage omitted]

[Rusi] Interethnic relations have been aggravating in Macedonia over the past few years, especially as concerns the rights of other peoples and nationalities who live here.

[Gosev] I agree, but it would be onesided and incorrect to say that the reason is primarily the "restriction" of the rights of other peoples and nationalities, and of course, this is no Macedonian speciality. The reason lies in the logic of the system that has functioned in the country so far: national rights have been implemented above all on the level of the collective, instead of on the level of the individual, or rather as part of human rights and freedoms. This logic has created conditions for a rise of nationalism. Unfortunately, the results of this are Albanian separatism (also here in Macedonia) and the so-called nationalized [podrzavljeni] Macedonian nationalism, and the mix-up in the status of a people and a nationality, as well as a restriction of rights, and in the country in general, the spread of the theses about entire peoples being endangered, or rather "solutions" being found in national homogenization, strengthening of unitarianism, or separatism.

Because of all of this I am convinced that the interethnic relations may be solved only with a new logic, with a reformed political system in which the individual, with his economic, social, and political national rights, stands as the basic lever of the system.

Any other solution, especially within the framework of collectivist and totalitarian concepts, necessarily leads to nationalism, national conflicts, and irreconcilability.

"Yugoslavization" of Macedonia would be pernicious for all its citizens, regardless of their religious or national affiliation. To play the "national card," instead of the card of Europe and the 21st century, leads back to the bloody experience of the Balkan wars. I hope that the sense of all the citizens of Macedonia will not allow this.

Bosnian Muslim Leader: 'We Want To Be Equal'

AU2708100990 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 90 p 2

[D. Djuretek: "Muslims Offered Alliance"]

[Text] The speech of Adil Zulfikarpasic, vice president of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action, at the founding assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo the day before yesterday [18 August], will, no doubt, strongly reverberate. At the same time his words and messages will be measured on a sensitive political scale.

Addressing the rally, Zulfikarpasic, who is considered to be one of the most influential politicians in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said:

"Bosnjaks, Muslims are aware of the present situation and are united, because they know that there is not other way for them but the way to freedom. For us this is a question of life. We will not agree to be a second-rate republic, we want to be equal to Serbia and Croatia." He then went on to say: "The Croats have also decided to be an important factor in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this sense you will be our most important allies."

This was the first time that the Muslims officially agreed to be an ally of Croats and the Croatian Democratic Community. It is clear that a coalition of Muslims and Croats would also mean a great election victory for them, something that would significantly alter the political situation in Bosnia.

The careful listeners did not miss the following words of the vice president of the Party of Democratic Action either: "We also count on our Orthodox brothers Serbs, with whom we want to live together." Some understood this as a warning too, because it is known that the Party of Democratic Action, numerically the biggest party in Bosnia, supports the so-called Bosnian current within the Croatian Democratic Community. Judging by Zulfikarpasic's speech, it does not wish to make an alliance with the other side. The proponent of the Bosnian current, who was elected the new president of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina at this rally, is Davor Perinovic.

In fact, it was the election of the president that revealed differences on how the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be financed, that is, to what extent it should be tied to its center in Zagreb. The members of the party from Hercegovina cannot forgive Perinovic for not wanting to have closer ties with Zagreb. Perinovic said: "We will respond most energetically to all attempts aimed at turning us into a Zagreb branch, because such attempts would constitute attempts to undermine Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Perinovic was nevertheless elected president, despite the opposition which at one time unnecessarily brought the conclusion of the assembly into question. A great majority welcomed Perinovic's election as president, although some booing was also heard....

The wisdom of the leading people, above all Dalibor Brozovic and others who were aware that preserving unity is the most important thing, contributed to the calm most. The next task will certainly be to overcome differences, because the Croatian Democratic Community has big ambitions at the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina and desires an alliance with the Muslims.

New Croatian Socialist Party Established

LD2508175190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Petrinja, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbian people do not need a province or autonomy as long as the decisions of ZAVNOH [the Nationwide Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia] are respected, or if, in accordance with the model in Europe, Croatia is the sovereign state of all its citizens, Borislav Mikelic stated today at the founding assembly of the Socialist Party of Croatia-Party With a Yugoslav Orientation [Socijalisticka Partija Hrvatske-Partija Jugoslovenske Orijentacije - SPH-PJO].

Current intranational relations, which have reached the greatest degree of division, are precisely the consequence of the failure to respect the decisions of ZAVNOH, but it is not the Serbian people who are responsible for failing to respect these decisions but the party in power in Croatia, Mikelic specified.

The founding assembly of the Socialist Party of Croatia in the Petrinja Cultural Center is being held only two weeks after the launching of the initiative for it to be formed. About 600 delegates from all regions of Croatia are taking part in the work of the meeting; Predrag Jereminov, secretary of the committee for the preparation of the congress of the democratic and program renewal of the LCY [League of Communist of Yugoslavia], is among the guests.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1526 GMT on 25 August in a further report on the assembly says that "Boris Mikelic was elected its chairman."]

Platform Declaration Adopted

LD2508203990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Petrinja, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Prior to the adoption of a new Croatian constitution, it is essential to carry out a census and to facilitate a broad public debate so that the best possible constitutional solutions are adopted without pressures and voting manipulations. This implies a free referendum as a form of citizens' plebiscite and the freely expressed wish of the people. This is stressed in the declaration on the aims and tasks of the Socialist Party of Croatia-Party With a Yugoslav Orientation [SPH-PJO] which was founded today in Petrinja.

This party advocates that the new constitution should contain a decree on Croatia as the national state of the Croatian nation but also of the Serbian nation in Croatia and of the other nations and nationalities which live within it.

The SPH-PJO also advocates in the declaration, which was unanimously adopted at the end of today's assembly, that Yugoslavia should be a democratic and effective federation in which the nations and nationalities and federal units are equal, which also implies the right to self-determination and secession. As such, the powers of the federation should extend to ensuring conditions for a single Yugoslav market, security, foreign policy, and defense. The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] should continue to be united in the defense of the independence, integrity, and constitutional order of the country.

The participants in the SPH-PJO founding assembly called on all socialist-oriented parties in Yugoslavia to unite in a socialist party of Yugoslavia for the sake of "the joint struggle against the right and forces of separatism in the country."

SDS Branch Formed in Sombor 25 Aug

LD2508210490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Sombor, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of a branch of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] was held today in the Kljajicevo sports' center, not far from Sombor. In the presence of about 10,000 people, Momcilo Kosovic, vice-chairman of the main committee of the SDS, stressed that the Serbian people in Croatia are for a federation but not for one like the one in which Serbs now live. [passage omitted]

Security in Slavonski Brod Deemed 'Satisfactory'

LD2508215790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] In the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slavonski Brod security conditions in the area of the municipality of Nova Gradiska are assessed as satisfactory, despite the fact that over the last few days problems have been recorded with intervention occurring in one or two places, something which requires that measures and activities are undertaken.

For example, Serbian patrols have been in the area of (?Okucan), where several instances of the confiscation of firearms have been recorded. In the Nova Gradiska Assembly it is stressed that these are not bandit [hajducki] times and that if necessary more energetic measures will be taken to protect the people and the state.

PDPM Constituent Conference Elects Officials

LD2508223190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1808 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Tetovo, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The constitutive electoral conference of the Party for Democratic Prosperity in Macedonia [Partija Demokratskog Prosperiteta u Makedoniji—PDPM] was held in Tetovo today in the presence of delegates from 18 branches. The introductory speech was delivered by the chairman, Nedzad Halili, and a resolution was adopted supporting the realization of democratic rights and civil liberties.

Most of the discussion was exclusively in Albanian, which meant that today the statute of the Tetovo municipal Assembly, legal regulations, and constitutional principles were again crudely violated. The proposed declaration in favor of education in the mother tongue was not unanimously accepted. One delegate from Skopje proposed that it should be completely rejected because it was contrary to the current legal regulations. However, after additional explanations from individual delegates, teachers, from Tetovo, the declaration in favor of education in the mother tongue was nevertheless adopted.

Also adopted at today's session was a resolution on the realization of the right to freedom and equality of Albanians and Turks in Macedonia. However, at the meeting itself there was a boycott of Macedonian and Turkish on the part of the majority of the participants in the discussion.

Nedzad Halili, a teacher from Tetovo, was elected in a secret ballot as chairman of the PDPM in Tetovo out of two proposed candidates. Two deputy chairmen, Sami Ibraimi of Skopje and Arif Finca of Struga, were also elected. Mitat Emini, a qualified lawyer from Tetovo, was elected secretary of the PDPM.

Sarajevo Radio, TV Rejects Claims of Bias

LD2708152990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—The broadcasting council of Sarajevo Radio and Television, giving consideration today to the coverage of the activities of political parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, resolutely rejected and condemned the serious and quite unfounded allegations of there being a pro-Chetnik orientation in its broadcasts. The council assesses that such labelling, as could be heard at the preelection meetings of some political parties, is an expression of attempts to bring pressure to bear on the broadcasts of Sarajevo Radio and Television and blow the whistle on their editorial policy.

A drastic example of such an uncivilized attack was heard recently at a forum of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] in Mostar, the statement from this session says, and adds that regardless of these pressures Sarajevo Radio and TV will continue to cover political events in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a full and comprehensive manner. Here we stress, the statement goes on to say, that each well-reasoned and specific criticism will be accepted as an expression of the common endeavor to present all the parties and their programs in this republic to the numerous listeners of Sarajevo Radio and Television.

The broadcasting council of Sarajevo Radio and Television also condemned all the calls which have been voiced at individual meetings not to pay the radio and television license fee, assessing that this is an illegal act which is in sharp contrast with advocacy of the construction of a democratic society in a law-governed state.

Vietnamese Envoy Discusses Cooperation, Cambodia

LD2708204190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Ambassador Cu Dinh Ba, director of the European department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, arrived in Belgrade today with a message from the Vietnamese Foreign Affairs Minister Nguyen Co Thach for Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar.

In the course of the talks with Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoje Maksic, the envoy of the Vietnamese ministry explained in detail the new political trends in Southeast Asia, especially concerning Cambodia.

The talks also dwelt on possible UN and Nonaligned activities aimed at resolving the Cambodian problem. They also focused on issues relating to comprehensive improvement in cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Presidency Member Departs for Prague Conference

LD2508190890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1007 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Yugoslavia member Vasil Tupurkovski on Saturday [25 August] left for Prague where he is to participate in the International Conference on New Relations in Europe and Relations Between Europe and the U.S.

Tupurkovski is to meet with representatives of certain countries participants.